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U.S. Congressman, Croatian Press on Kosovo

AU1909105889 Tirana ATA in English 0815 GMT 19 Sep 89

["Serbia's Current Policy Towards the Albanians of Kosovo Is Doomed To Fail—The U.S. Congressman, Tom Lantos, Who Visited This Province Recently, States"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, September 19 (ATA)—Recently, the U.S. press published an interview with the U.S. Congressman Tom Lantos, member of the Foreign Relations Commission of the House of Representatives, who visited Kosovo recently. Speaking of his impressions concerning the current situation in this province, he said:

I returned from Kosovo very anxious. As it seems, bitter charges will be brought against a great number of Albanians, who are now in prison. But the charges against them are not convincing. Hence, the former leader of LC [League of Communists] of Kosovo, Azem Vlasi, who admits that he has met with the striking miners in an effort to calm down the situation, now is accused by the official authorities of allegedly inciting the miners to continue the strike and of stirring up tension. Various organizations in the U.S.A. and in Western Europe, charged with the observation of human rights, will not be given the chance of conducting independent investigation. I think it would be very exciting if the persons who are now in prison are sentenced. Very worrying are also the efforts by the president of Serbia's Presidency, Slobodan Milosevic, to impose Serbian hegemony over the other ethnic groups. Yugoslavia does not need a policy which aggravates the present inter-national tensions.

Tom Lantos, who mentioned that the U.S. Congress condemned the persecution of the Albanians of Kosovo, stressed that in fact it is very difficult or impossible that a people be deprived of their legitimate rights. The Serbian regime headed by Milosevic, he said, is trying to make such a thing in the province of Kosovo, where the Albanian population demands equal rights with the other peoples of Yugoslavia, as well as in the Vojvodina province. The Serbian leadership is depriving Kosovo even of that autonomy it had up to now. Such a policy is doomed to fail and will have a grave impact on the peoples of Yugoslavia.

Asked of his impression of the visit, the U.S. congressman said that the visit to Kosovo had proved completely his worry over the violation of the Albanians' rights. I consider the situation in Kosovo, where my wife and I travelled for a long time throughout the province, very worrying, he stressed, adding that the people of this region deserve a better treatment. I noticed, he said, the discrimination made to the Albanians by the Serbian authorities. On the other side, a great number of Albanians feel themselves desperate. The economic situation is extremely worrying.

The Reporters' Association of Croatia Protests Against the Authorities' Decision To Limit the Reflection in Press of Azem Vlasi's Trial

The Yugoslav news agency, TANJUG, reports that the Reporters' Association of Croatia protested against the authorities' decision to limit the reflection in press of the coming trial of the former party leader of Kosovo province, Azem Vlasi and of the other 14 Albanians. In a statement published in Zagreb, the presidency of the association demands from the Yugoslav Reporters' Association to present an official protest to the authorities against such an attempt of manipulating the public opinion.

After pointing out that only the representatives of TANJUG and Kosovo's newspapers JEDINSTVO and RILINDJA are allowed to reflect the trial, the Croatian reporters warn that the imposed restrictions leave "a bitter taste of doubt and leave room for manipulation."

The newspaper DANAS of Zagreb wrote recently that it should not be forgotten the fact that besides Yugoslavia, the world, too, which recently has adopted a critical stand regarding the Albanians' position in Yugoslavia, is very much interested to be acquainted with the legal proceedings being prepared in Kosovo. The closed door trial or the avoidance of the public opinion arouses doubts and creates the conviction that Azem Vlasi is being judged according to some criteria not envisaged by law. Then, DANAS stressed in conclusion, one might easily believe that perhaps he may be sentenced only because he is an Albanian and here lies, as it seems, his greatest error: that he forgot this fact.

Leaders' Public Appearances 9-15 September

AU1509194089

[Editorial report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 9-15 September reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of report given in parentheses):

Besnik Bekteshi, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee (CC) Politburo member, and Pirro Kondi, AWP CC Politburo candidate member, attended a ceremony at which decorations were awarded to vanguard collectives and workers in Tirana on 14 September. (2000 GMT 14 Sep 89)

Muho Asllani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, attended a ceremony at which decorations were awarded to vanguard collectives and workers in Durres on 14 September. (2000 GMT 14 Sep 89)

Bulgarian Reticence on 'Pan-Turkism' Chided

AU1809142089 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 14 Sep 89 p 1

[Article by Architect Khristian Milenov: "Forward Post in the Balkans"]

[Text] Without any introductory remarks or general reflections, I would like to share my view of the issue of Bulgarian citizens who adopt the fateful decisions to travel to the southeast. I may be mistaken and I may exaggerate certain aspects of the process, but this is really a "time of division" and each of us should make up his mind where he belongs.

The fact that thousands of people have left their native homes, their homes, and friends does not only reflect the strength of foreign propaganda. It is high time for us, after over a century of national and state revival, to prevent Turkey once and for all from periodically draining our people's most valuable resources—namely their human potential.

"On the other side" they are noisily attacking us with the weapons of total psychological and ideological war, while we are responding with infrequent and fragmentary retorts. If this reticence stems from the duty to observe the customary forms of dialogue among civilized countries, or if we hope that the Turkish attitude may change tomorrow, it means that 500 years of slavery have not taught us the obvious truths. Has pan-Turkism perhaps existed only since the spring of 1989? Are the exhortations for a march to Vienna quite recent? Are there no sharper journalists' and writers' pens in our country to speak up as the masters and offsprings of this land? I think that it is Bulgaria's rather than Turkey's right to ask for explanations from the rostrum of the United Nations about the insolent Sultan's attacks.

In this connection I have some questions for our historical science. It is true that a few books have been published which cast more light on several social, cultural, economic, and ethnic processes of the recent and more distant past related to the Balkans and to our nation. Nevertheless, I cannot understand how it is possible that our National Library should still keep uninvestigated Turkish archives on its shelves, as if what we have here is not the National Library, but some obscure institution at the end of the world, or as if we were dealing with undecipherable documents which are unaccessible to Bulgarian historians.

I also have certain reservations regarding our Bulgarian fellow citizens who are departing for the southeast. Naturally, I sympathize with those who promptly abandon their illusions as soon as they step on Turkish territory. Let us understand each other—forgiveness is our national characteristic, but we should learn that certain laws and sacred national values exist which should be inviolable and which all Bulgarian citizens, without exception, should observe and respect. The rejection of one's kin and motherland cannot be accepted with indifference. By leaving this country, our fellow citizens have deliberately and maliciously burnt their bridges behind them. It is up to them now to rebuild those bridges. It is their children who will suffer in Turkey. I am not sure whether it should not be appropriate to find some form of considering the children's opinions and to consult them on whether they wish to leave or not.

Fate has decided that the Balkans and Bulgaria, which is their forward post, should once more—for the second time in this millenium—be attacked by pan-Turkism. Is it not clear that we are not only defending our own national cause but the positions of European civilization in this part of the continent. Once upon a time the Turkish invasion destroyed three civilizations—the Byzantine-Greek, the Southern Slavonic civilization (to which Bulgaria belonged), and the Caucasian, and moreover, it impeded the further development of the Arab civilization. The mistake which Western Europe committed during the 14th Century (whether it was deliberate or not, is another question) should not be repeated.

Queries on 'Epidemics'

AU1409144689 Sofia BTA in English 1349 GMT 14 Sep 89

["Announcement of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 14 (BTA)—During the last days Bulgarian citizens are turning to the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare to ask for information about the announcements in the foreign press of the outbreak of epidemics of cholera and abdominal typhus in Turkey.

The CUMHURIYET newspaper from September 6 this year announced of choleric diseases of the El Tor [as received] type in Gaziantep, Adana, Mercin, Iskenderun, and Urfa. The same newspaper from September 9 specified that 55 people have already died. Similar announcements are run by the TERCUMAN, GUNAYDIN, HURRIYET, etc. newspapers. Unfortunately, the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare of the People's Republic of Bulgaria does not have official information as of the character and scales of the epidemic as the Turkish side has not provided such information despite the fact that it is obliged to do so. The World Health Organization informed the Bulgarian health authorities about a Yugoslavian citizen ill with cholera who passed transit through our country on September 11 on his way home from Turkey.

The epidemic situation in Turkey places a great risk for the spreading of these diseases in the European countries. Bulgaria has served many a time as a kind of barrier preventing the penetration of the epidemics in Europe.

Bearing in mind the large number of Bulgarian citizens, who are now in Turkey, it is only natural for our society to express concern about their health and life. This concern increases from the fact that the majority of these people are put in temporal camps and premises which are not adjusted for normal life with no elementary sanitation and health services. The increased flow through the Bulgaro-Turkish border might lead to the spreading of the epidemics.

In relation with that the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested from the Turkish authorities the respective information. The Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare makes what is necessary for increasing of the prophylactics of these diseases and the anti-epidemic control and for putting to laboratory tests all Bulgarian citizens returning from Turkey.

The situation makes imperative the constant interaction between the Bulgarian and the Turkish health authorities. The Bulgarian side, on the basis of international practice and the acting regulations of the World Health Organization is in its right to establish such conditions of movement at the Bulgaro-Turkish border which would hopefully guarantee the non-spreading of the indicated diseases on Bulgarian territory.

Turkish 'Ambitions' Analyzed

*AU1409102989 Sofia BTA in English
0820 GMT 14 Sep 89*

["Turkey: Ambitions Still Existing"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 14 (BTA)—The Ottoman Empire ceased to exist long ago, but imperial ambitions are still existing in today's Turkey. This is the commentary of the Bulgarian scholar Georgi Yankov on the policy of the ruling circles in Ankara. He has devoted many a year of his life to research and has a lot of publications on the history of the Balkans and the formation of the Bulgarian nation.

In his interview brought out in the latest issue of PULSE, a weekly writing on literature and culture, Mr. Georgi Yankov analysed the causes and the historical roots of the migration psychoses periodically fanned up among the Muslim population of Turkey's neighbours. Almost half a million people emigrated from Bulgaria to Turkey in the period 1880-1923, 87 thousand—in the 1935-1940 period, 156 thousand—in 1950-1951, 115 thousand—in 1968-1978. More than 400 thousand people emigrated from Yugoslavia to Turkey in the years after World War II.

What are the reasons for these periodical mass psychoses? Replying to this question, Georgi Yankov quoted Konstantin Irecek. At the end of the 19th century the Czech historian pointed out that the main reason for the migration was the propaganda campaign of the Turkish clergy and "the secret promptings from Istanbul" which did not allow the Bulgarian Muslims to remain in Bulgaria although they went to Turkey unwillingly. Obscure fanaticism, mixing up religion and nationality in the believers' minds, the mechanisms of kinship and group consciousness played a definite role in the spreading of migration psychoses, said Associate Professor Georgi Yankov who reads lectures at the "Karl Marx" Institute of Economics in Sofia.

The origin of pro-Turkish feelings in a certain part of the Bulgarian Muslim population is not the result of a natural historic development. These feelings were incited and artificially implanted as a direct product of the assimilation policy of the Ottoman Empire before the liberation of Bulgaria, which turned into a systematic ideological and psychological manipulation aimed at the purposeful identification of the Muslim religion with being part of the Turkish nation, Associate Professor Yankov pointed out.

For example, in the 20's and 30's of this century, with the help of special emissaries sent by Turkey, a number of nationalist pan-Turkish organizations such as "Turan", "Efket", "Alp Arslan", "Altin Ordu", "Boz Kurt" etc., were set up in Bulgaria for the purpose of brain-washing the Islamised Bulgarians and training them in "pan-Turkish spirit".

During the whole period following the liberation of Bulgaria, Turkey has been continuously fanning up openly, or by making use of secret channels, emigration feelings among the Bulgarian population. It seeks to divide its self-consciousness, to alienate it from Bulgaria, to force it to lead, figuratively speaking, a "life on wheels", the Bulgarian scholar said.

Especially indicative of the goals and the methods Turkey uses in her unfair play with play [as received] with the fate of hundreds of thousands of people is the migration psychosis fanned up by Ankara in 1951. Initially the Turkish propaganda called for emigration to the "motherland", tempting the Muslims with promises of "roses and rose gardens". But on September 8, 1951, Turkey closed her frontier, thus putting in a catastrophic situation thousands of people who had sold out for a mere song all their property, reminded Georgi Yankov. This fact shows particularly clear that such people are treated by Ankara as mere pawns in a dirty political game aimed at creating tensions in Bulgaria.

Historical experience shows that the nationalist and religious manipulation of a certain group of the population incited from abroad, usually results in creating migration feelings, tensions and cataclysms and sometimes turns the manipulated into weapons levelled against their own fatherland, Yankov underlined.

But how many "Turks", according to Ankara, "are there outside Turkey"? Looking for Turks everywhere is interesting, but very dangerous, is Georgi Yankov's answer. He reminded that pan-Turkish literature mentions "Turkestan Turks" (this name "uniting" the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghizes, Turkmen, Uighurs living in the Soviet Union), "Northern Turks" (the Tatars, the Chuvashes), "Western Turks" (in Azerbaijan, Iraq, Iran, Syria, Cyprus, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Greece, Albania, Rumania), "Turkish communities" in America, Germany, Austria, etc., and even ... the Yakuts are proclaimed to be "Siberian Turks".

In actual fact, pan-Turkish claims are based on a "mistake" made on purpose. The terms "Turkish"—related to the ethno-social community (nation)—and "Turkic"-related to a linguistically united group, such as the Slavs, for example—are deliberately mixed up, the Bulgarian scholar pointed out.

Pan-Islamism serves as a cover for the pan-Turkish aspirations of the reactionary political forces in Turkey, Associate Professor Yankov underlined. He recalled the continuing occupation of northern Cyprus, Turkey's territorial claims on the Soviet Union, Greek western Thrace, Iraq, the recent debates on the establishment of a "Federative Republic of Turkey" in Bulgaria.

In conclusion Gerogi Yankov quotes the Iranian scholar of the Islam, Dr. Ahmad Sotude, "the Turkish anti-Bulgarian campaign is rooted in the strengthening of pan-Turkish, revenge-seeking and expansionist ambitions backed up by the most reactionary-minded circles in that country. They openly speak of seizing Iranian and Soviet Azerbaijan, where the people allegedly speaks the Turkish language, of annexing southern Bulgaria to Turkey and occupying the oil-rich Iraqi regions of Mosul and Kirkuk, because they are said to be part of the Ottoman Empire.

Ganev Views Situation

AU1509154589 East Berlin HORIZONT in German No. 9 1989 (signed to press 4 September 1989) p 14

[Unattributed interview with Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Ganev: "'Balkan Floor' Visible in Outlines"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] HORIZONT: In the Balkans, processes are under way which are to lead to greater mutual understanding and better cooperation among the countries involved. What international and regional political factors influence the positive development in the Balkan peninsula in your view, and how would you assess the current state of cooperation among the Balkan countries?

Ivan Ganev: There are many factors that influence the development of the situation in the Balkans, and it will hardly be possible to just list them all in a brief answer. Above all, one must not forget that the Balkans have never been isolated from the outside world, nor are they isolated now, and that this area does not close itself off to events in the rest of Europe. All Balkan countries have active political, economic, cultural, and other relations with countries outside the region. The majority of them participate in the all-European process. Therefore the events on the continent are unavoidably reflected in the Balkans. I think that the dynamic development of the dialogue between East and West, in particular between the USSR and the United States, has a positive effect on the situation in our region. This led to the first encouraging steps in the field of disarmament. The profound change in the socialist countries, in particular in the Soviet Union, has a strong influence on international relations, including those in the Balkans.

The new political thinking, which puts general human values and common interest in a peaceful and violence-free world in the foreground, is meeting with an increasing response.

In the Balkan countries, too, there is the increasing influence of those forces that work to turn the peninsula into a region of good-neighborly relations, mutual trust, and cooperation. A change toward more realism is under way in bilateral relations. I would like to cite Bulgaria and Greece as examples, two countries with different social and societal systems, which belong to different military and political organizations.

In my view, cooperation in the Balkan peninsula is developing successfully. Even though concrete results are still modest, they demonstrate a positive trend. More than 30 meetings at various levels between representatives of the Balkan states during the past 1 and ½ years alone demonstrate the willingness to look for acceptable solutions to mutually interesting questions. In this connection, I would like to particularly stress the first foreign ministers' meeting of the Balkan states in Belgrade at the beginning of 1988, because it constitutes a new quality in the efforts for cooperation in our region, which already allows one to sense a new way of political thinking.

Within the framework of this meeting, a Bulgarian-Turkish protocol was signed, which was intended to establish the basis for a dialogue. Unfortunately, the Turkish Government is now posing preconditions for this dialogue which are unacceptable to us. Thus, it demands from us the official recognition of the Islamized Bulgarians as a Turkish minority and the conclusion of an agreement on emigration, in which Turkey wants to have the right reserved to decide which persons of this group of the population may leave Bulgaria. Bulgaria has passed a law on passports, which applies to every citizen of the country without reservations and offers him the opportunity to chose whether, when, for how long, and in which country he wants to travel. I do not see any need to conclude a separate agreement on this with Turkey. [passage omitted]

HORIZONT: In the past, the Balkans were called the "powder keg of Europe." How much progress has been made in the exchange of views on how security and trust can be consolidated in the Balkans, and what concrete steps are planned for the near future?

Ivan Ganev: The problems of consolidating trust and security were the topics of the broad exchange of views at the Belgrade meeting of the foreign ministers and at the subsequent meetings of high-ranking representatives of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries. They constitute an extraordinary aspect of the entire process in the Balkans. They are directly linked with the topical disarmament efforts.

It must be stressed that the idea of the nuclear-free zone in the Balkan peninsula as well as the joint Bulgarian-Romanian idea to declare the region a chemical-weapon-free zone—which is still being discussed in various exchanges of views—is gaining increasing public support. We think that the removal of means of mass destruction from the peninsula will increase the degree of trust and security.

The expert meeting in Bucharest this May offered the opportunity to explain in greater detail the positions of the individual Balkan countries on the questions of trust and security, and to understand them. In the interest of truth it must be said that there are still differences in approach and in the willingness to take specific steps.

HORIZONT: What other fields of varied cooperation on the Balkan are in Bulgaria's particular interest? What concrete proposals have already been made by the People's Republic of Bulgaria in these fields?

Ivan Ganev: It is natural to emphasize those fields where the possibilities for an agreement are greatest at the current stage.

You know that the initiative for the signing of an agreement on environmental protection by the Balkan countries started in Bulgaria. The problems of environmental protection have escalated globally, and their successful solution can be achieved only through joint efforts. I think that everyone is aware of this fact. I am confident that the European Ecology Forum, which will meet in Sofia in October, will also provide new stimuli for the regional efforts.

The Bulgarian side also presented a number of specific proposals at the meeting of the ministers of foreign economic relations and foreign trade in Ankara this March. It holds the view that there are considerable possibilities in this field, which are waiting for tolerant concessions and initiatives. The idea to establish an industrial and trade chamber of the Balkan countries, to hold periodical meetings of work groups, and to promote border trade, bank contacts, etc., is of common interest.

As I have said, history has left the Balkans with problems that are not solved easily. Nevertheless, we are of the opinion that if the Balkan states want to find their place in the all-European home, they have to harmonize their relations with the positive trends in the current international events. At all meetings so far, the contours of the overall process in the Balkans were outlined. The "Balkan floor" in the all-European home can be built only by taking into consideration the entire variety of state and national interests. Today it is clearer than ever that the balance of interests is the only realistic alternative to the balance of military strength.

Unfortunately, this constructive approach is opposed by certain circles in Turkey. For years leading politicians in Ankara have made territorial claims on Bulgaria and Greece, allegedly out of concern for the minorities, and they want to make the military occupation of a part of the Republic of Cyprus permanent. Furthermore, I think that the intentions of the Turkish leadership as regards the EC are incompatible with the artificial tension it is fanning in its relations with almost all neighboring states.

Obviously overcoming the differences in some positions of the Balkan countries will be a complicated and protracted process, but given good will and political realism, I think that the all-European process will also achieve its full extent in the Balkans.

SPD Delegation Visits, Meets Balev 12 Sep

AU1209165789 Sofia BTA in English 1536 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 12 (BTA)—A delegation of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), headed by its Deputy Chairman Mr Oskar Lafontaine, prime minister of Saarland (FRG) arrived today in this country at the invitation of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The delegation includes Professor Dr Dieter Breitenbach, minister of culture of that province and other party officials.

Later at the Central Committee of the BCP talks began between the delegations of the BCP and the SPD led by Mr Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC (Central Committee] of the BCP, and by Mr Oskar Lafontaine.

Zhivkov Receives Lafontaine

AU1309131089 Sofia BTA in English 1226 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 13 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, received today Mr Oskar Lafontaine, deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and prime minister of Saarland (FRG), who is paying a visit to this country at the invitation of the CC of the BCP.

Information was exchanged on the two parties' activities at present and a large number of issues were discussed about the international situation, the East-West dialogue, the situation in Europe as well as about relations between Bulgaria and the FRG

Mr Todor Zhivkov acquainted the guest with the philosophy and the practical steps in the realization of profound restructuring in all spheres of social life. A stress was made on Bulgaria's role for the maintaining and development of relations of good neighbourliness and cooperation in the Balkans, for turning of the region into a nuclear- and chemical weapons-free zone.

Mr Oskar Lafontaine spoke of the process of programme renewal of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, of the party's preparation for the country's forthcoming provincial and federal elections, as well as of its efforts directed at the development of dialogue between the left forces in the world.

A large similarity in the assessments and positions on global issues of nowadays was found and the need was stressed to reject many of the outdated viewpoints and stereotypes and of the building of a modern idea about the character and criteria of human progress.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Oskar Lafontaine declared themselves for the continuation of the process of disarmament and strengthening of the situation in the world, for demilitarization, democratization and humanizing of international relations.

During the discussion of bilateral relations it was stressed that there are real possibilities for activation of the political dialogue, of the economic, techno-scientifical and cultural cooperation between Bulgaria and the FRG. The restructuring in Bulgaria creates favourable prerequisites for the expansion of direct contacts between the companies, between the districts and provinces, between the two countries'trade unions, women's, youth and creative organizations.

During the talk a positive assessment was given to relations between the BCP and the Social Democratic Party of Germany and readiness was expressed to promote contacts between the two parties to the interest of peace, security and disarmament, for the prosperity of the two country's peoples.

Official Assesses Relations

AU1409080189 Sofia BTA in English
2040 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 13 (BTA)—Mr Oskar Lafontaine, deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and prime minister of Saarland (FRG) today made a positive assessment of the development of the relations between the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Bulgarian Communist Party and of the active dialogue conducted at different levels.

Speaking before journalists, Mr Oskar Lafontaine, who is paying a visit here at the head of a delegation of the Socialist Democratic Party of Germany, pointed out that the discussions he had with a number of Bulgarian leaders are of great importance for the further promotion of the useful contacts between the Federal Republic of Germany, including Saarland, and Bulgaria. He underlined that at these meetings special attention was paid to the possibility of activating the interaction in the field of economy and culture, where a number of joint projects have already been realized. As a good example of the cooperation, he mentioned the business relations established between shop chains of Saarland and Bulgaria, the contacts between education establishments of the two countries. It was noted that the climax of the cultural exchange was the Bulgarian cultural week held in Saarbruken.

The guest said that he had been informed about the economic reforms implemented in Bulgaria which no doubt would open new possibilities for the extension of economic relations.

Communique on SPD Visit

AU1409184789 Sofia BTA in English
1743 GMT 14 Sep 89

["Communique About the Visit of the Socialist Democratic Party of Germany"—BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 14 (BTA)—A communique given to be published about the three-day visit to this country of the delegation of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPG), headed by Mr Oskar Lafontaine, deputy chairman of the party and prime minister of Saarland (FRG), which ended today, points out that a large similarity in the positions and assessments of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the SPG was found on issues concerning relations between the two parties, on issues concerning relations between Bulgaria and the FRG, as well as on the international situation. The document reads that the talks between the delegations of the SPG including Professor Dieter Breitenbach, minister of culture of Saarland and Mr Jochen Flacus, political aide of Mr Oskar Lafontaine and the BCP, led by Mr Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP and with the participation of Mr Dimitur Stanishev, have passed in a friendly and constructive atmosphere. A mutual readiness was confirmed to develop relations and cooperation between the BCP and the SPG to the interest of the two parties and the two countries, in the name of mutual seeking of the answers of issues and the challenges of modern times.

The guests have been acquainted with the profound political and economic reforms in Bulgaria in compliance with the July concept for further building of socialism in the country.

The two countries hail the first real steps towards easing of the international situation and disarmament in relation with which the need is stressed of an early conclusion of agreements for radical cuts of the strategic nuclear systems and the conventional weapons, to an all-round ban of chemical weapons.

During the talks it was stressed that the new political thinking is turning into an active factor for the establishment of a modern international order that the modern realities require new understanding of the progress of mankind which would guarantee the survival of the world.

The two delegations declare themselves for the use and improvement of the Helsinki and Vienna agreements and security and cooperation in Europe.

The communique indicates further on that during the dialogue an emphasis was made on Bulgaria's contribution to the closer cooperation between the Balkan states. To the efforts to establish climate of goodneighborliness and understanding in the Balkans. A high assessment was given of the constructive initiatives of the SPG to detente and disarmament in Europe, to the activation of the dialogue and cooperation between the left parties and forces in the world.

The two delegations declare themselves for efficient and urgent initiatives for the establishment of a new international economic order in the world.

Mr Oskar Lafontaine was received by Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council.

The delegation of the SPG had talks with Mr Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's foreign affairs minister, with Mr Petko Danchev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and with Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 14 September adds that the "SPD delegation, headed by Oskar Lafontaine departed from Bulgaria on 14 September, seen off by Comrades Milko Balev and Dimitur Stanishev."]

Council of Ministers Decision on Cattle Breeding

AU1509204489 Sofia BTA in English
1752 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 15 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers adopted a decree which creates conditions for the increase of the number of cows and sheep and for further development of dairy sheep and stock breeding. It envisages additional material incentives in order to accelerate the development of these important spheres of cattle breeding in the collective and individual farms. The corresponding institutes and organizations should provide, as of the beginning of 1990, conditions for wide application of nature-conforming technologies for stock breeding, for the transfer of highly productive milking installations outside the farm buildings. It is envisaged to improve the selection work in compliance with the concrete ecological conditions. The aim is by 1995 to reach an average yield of milk of 4300 liters from a cow; 65 liters of milk and 5 kg of wool from its sheep, 85 calves from 100 cows; 107 lambs out from 100 ewes.

Since the beginning of the next year the local municipal councils will pay a 500 leva bonus per ewe to the public and personal farms and to cooperatives in the mountainous and semi-mountainous regions, as well as in the regions struck by migration the government decree envisages that sheep-breeders, piece-work workers and the tenant farmers, and the individual farmers will be able to buy non-socialist currency at the Bulgarian National Bank rates which be credited on the account of the companies exporting dairy products. Since January 1, 1990, extra money will be paid along with the regular purchase prices of the cow's, buffalo's and sheep's milk, as well as for raw wool. The funds for these extra payments will be provided from the state budget.

The Ministry of Economy and Planning, together with the municipal councils must organize, by the end of October this year, the production of milk and yogurt, biologically pure and dainty milk and meat products in creameries and small size enterprises.

Guarantees are provided for the purchase of the entire quantities of stock-breeding production from all producers. The Ministry of Agriculture and Forests will adopt normatives for sheep breeding in the forestry and hunting farms for the next five-six years.

People who settle in small and depopulated villages in order to breed sheep and cattle will be provided free houses and farm buildings. They will have the right to receive loans from the state up to 30 thousand leva for 30 years. Cattle breeding profits of individuals or families are income tax free. The requirement that stock breeders should sell their production to cooperative or agricultural organizations is abolished.

FRG Parliamentary Group Begins Talks in Prague

LD1809164389 Hamburg DPA in German 1508 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Prague (DPA)—A delegation of the German Bundestag led by Peter Glotz (Social Democratic Party) arrived in Prague on Monday for political talks. The guests were greeted in the Prague Parliament by the deputy chairman of the Inter-Parliamentary Union of the CSSR, Ludek Kapitola.

During the talks the German side spoke in support of more border crossings and an extension of the communications and road network between both countries. The Czechoslovakian deputies on the other hand demanded "the elimination of a series of discriminating measures on the side of the NATO countries" without however naming these concretely. [passage omitted]

CTK Reports Meeting

LD1809172689 Prague CTK in English 1619 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 18 (CTK)—A delegation of the FRG-Czechoslovakia group of deputies in the Bundestag, which arrived here today, held talks with members of the Czechoslovakia-FRG group of the Interparliamentary Union led by its deputy chairman Ludek Kaopitola.

The West German deputies were interested, inter alia, in planned structural changes in the Czechoslovak economy and the use of energy generated by nuclear power plants. They called for more intensive economic cooperation between the two countries and also mentioned some obstacles hindering quicker progress in this respect. They suggested among other things closer integration of the Czechoslovak and West German telecomunications and road networks and the raising of the number of border crossings.

Czechoslovak deputies were of the opinion that the lifting of a number of discriminatory measures applied by NATO countries in exports to socialist countries would benefit economic cooperation.

The two sides also called for more intensive contacts between the legislative bodies of the two countries. Tomorrow the West German delegation, led by chairman of the FRG-Czechoslovakia parliamentary group Peter Glotz, is due to meet Slovak National Council members in Bratislava.

Johanes Discusses GDR Refugees

LD1809210189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] The delegation of representatives of the FRG-Czechoslovak parliamentary group in the Bundestag, led by its chairman Peter Glotz, has been received today in Prague by Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes. He briefed the guests on the Czechoslovak initiative on setting up a zone of trust on the border line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states.

Asked by the deputies about the GDR citizens currently staying in the West German Embassy in Prague, Jaromir Johanes once again stressed that this is a matter which must be resolved by negotiation between the FRG and GDR governments. The Czechoslovak side is creating the necessary conditions for this, and at the same time it will fully respect its treaty obligations toward the GDR, he said.

GDR Diplomat on FRG 'Seditious Campaign'

AU1809093789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Briefly From Home" column]

[Text] Yesterday Gerold Pletl, GDR consul general in Bratislava, held a news conference on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. In it he described the course of his country's socialist construction and its present-day economic, social, and cultural development. He characterized the GDR as a stable socialist state with modern industry and highly efficient agriculture, which enable its citizens to live in social certainty. At the same time, he condemned the seditious campaign through which reactionary forces in the FRG are urging the emigration of GDR citizens. This provocative act, in which elements of the cold war and neofascism are manifested, is aimed at destabilizing the GDR and breaching the "status quo" in Europe. Gerold Pletl highly praised the mutual cooperation and comprehensive ties which exist between our countries.

Support for GDR, Condemnation of FRG

AU1809165989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Sep 89 p 7

[Jan Kovarik commentary: "We Support Our Friend"]

[Text] The course of the GDR citizens' illegal method of traveling to the FRG, when the Hungarian Government unilaterally "suspended the validity" of its applicable agreement with the GDR and enabled GDR citizens to travel through Austria to the FRG on passports provided by the West German authorities, shows that this is an event prepared and coordinated long in advance by the most senior authorities in the FRG. The organization of refugee camps, including the printing of special vouchers for gas and written instructions regulating stays in these camps, bears this out. Everything corresponds to the fact that the main purpose of this event is to discredit the first workers' and peasants' state on German soil and to cast aspersions upon the principles on which, after the defeat of fascism, the communists agreed with social democrats and other progressive anti-war forces.

Throughout the entire 40 years of its existence, the GDR has been a thorn in the side of West German reactionaries. One could not possibly count all their attacks, concealed or public. And the result? The GDR has become a recognized authority in international life, an authority whose policy is compliant with the idea of building a just workers' state which strives for peaceful coexistence and cooperation on the international scene. The FRG's attempts to tell the GDR how to organize its affairs have never ceased and its attempts to overturn socialist development have also never ceased. Now the flight of GDR citizens, organized by the West German authorities, is another attempt, irrespective of international law and the spirit of agreements concluded between both German states and regardless of the harm this will do not only to relations between the FRG and the GDR but also to the promisingly developing process of relaxation.

It is dangerous short sightedness which wants to build the FRG's position upon the non-recognition of the law of another state, the GDR. One does not need a great deal of legal training to understand that providing personal documentation, in this case a passport, to a citizen of another state is a violation of the law and intervention into the internal affairs of another sovereign state. It is impossible to justify this with "the desire for unification" let alone by referring to the West German Constitution. The international community of nations is governed by certain rules which do not permit any state to force its laws or its interpretation of them onto another state. The whole of the contemporary process of detente and the building of mutual trust rests on this certainty.

The GDR put forward a number of constructive proposals for a bilaterally acceptable solution to the problem of GDR citizens staying on in Hungary with the aim of traveling to another country. Implementation of these proposals in Berlin led to GDR citizens leaving the FRG diplomatic mission which they had been occupying and, similarly, led to a considerable number of GDR citizens leaving the FRG Embassy in Prague which they had also been occupying. GDR officials guaranteed them impunity and the possibility of submitting via the normal, that is the legal and statutory, methods, their request to travel abroad. This is a method corresponding to our time—a method respecting the sovereignty of the state and, at the same time, the citizen's right to decide. Therefore, it is impossible to do anything other than reject the course of action of the West German authorities who know that there existed, and that there still exists, a legal course and who, despite this, repudiated it under the pretext of alleged humanity. In fact, they do not manage to conceal their hatred of socialism. And hatred is, as is well known, a bad adviser for any kind of behavior, let alone behavior in international life. It is impossible to show enthusiasm for the law and rights and, at the same time, tread on them only because, at a certain moment, they are not suitable.

We esteem the GDR as a proven and reliable partner, neighbor, and ally. We decidedly reject the campaign against the GDR and we express our emphatic support for our friends' point of view. Let our comrades in the GDR know that we will continue to develop mutual cooperation while adhering to all our agreed undertakings.

More Contracts Signed With GDR At Leipzig

AU1809100789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Sep 89 p 6

["(VPL)"-signed report: "Leipzig: Further CSSR-GDR Contracts"]

[Text] Berlin (From our own correspondent)—On Saturday [9 September] afternoon this year's autumn fair in Leipzig came to an end. Approximately 6,000 exhibitors from almost 100 countries participated this year in one of the most important venues for world trade. As usual, the CSSR was well represented by 25 foreign trade organizations.

During the fair, our enterprises concluded contracts for this year with our GDR partners. On the basis of the newly signed trade agreements, this year Czechoslovakia will export more goods to the GDR, worth R15.4 million and, in turn, the GDR will supply Czechoslovak consumers with goods worth R20.3 million.

Polish Government, GDR Refugees Viewed

AU1809140289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Sep 89 p 6

[Milan Jelinek commentary: "A Week in the World"]

[Text] The formation of the new Polish Government was followed in Europe and in the world with great interest. We provided RUDE PRAVO readers with very extensive reports, especially as this concerns our northern neighbor's dramatic development and involves changes in the country of our friends and allies. We have stated our point of view, and stated it quite clearly, several times. We wish the new Polish Government success in resolving its complicated problems, problems whose alleviation, along with a brighter future for the Polish people, lies close to our heart. Czechoslovakia respects the decisions made in Warsaw and is prepared to develop mutual cooperation in all spheres with the new Polish Government. Polish politicians are responsible to their own people alone for their actions—this is the generally accepted principle of noninterference, absolute sovereignty, and good neighborliness, and in this case, of our common friendship.

The broad coalition which now governs in Poland has, just like every new political combination of forces, a hopeful potential but also faces dilemmas. As long as the present political streams really merge in the effort to economically renew the country and as long as they strive for the political and social development of society without ulterior motives, then, there is promise for the future. If politicking appears in the coalition, the attempt to acquire powerful positions at the expense of others, and if the atmosphere within the coalition is made worse by ill-considered statements, then, Polish problems will only become more complicated. The matter is all the more serious because the economy is really in a state of decay. As the statements of many Polish representatives confirm, internal order, which is absolutely necessary to guarantee people's normal lives, has ceased to function in the country.

Solidarity, which is politicizing more and more—and it is only a question of time until it formally appears on the scene as a political party—has taken a great deal of responsibility upon itself. First and foremost, the party, which has the overwhelming representation in government, will carry responsibility for future development. Solidarity representatives revealed their talent in organizing strikes and political events which, on the one hand, pushed them into the spotlight of power but which, on the other hand, contributed to the economic disruption of Poland. If Solidarity reveals a similar talent in organizing economic life and in asserting economic reforms it will certainly only be welcomed by the Polish people.

Meanwhile, it is appealing for an end to the strike movement and the big question now is how the Polish workers will accept—already in such a depressing situation—the radical austerity measures which have been announced.

No One Wants The Inauspicious Past

The Western mass media has unleashed a colossal campaign around the departure of groups of GDR citizens for the FRG. This problem understandably concerns, first and foremost, both German states. However, emotions have exploded in the West and statements are raining down, statements to which it is impossible to remain silent.

We must not overlook the fact that in the FRG the validity of the German reich's 1937 borders are being undisguisedly discussed, the German issue is declared to be an open one, and it is even being insinuated that the time for its "solution" has come. This is all the more sad now when, after the years of cold war in Europe, attempts are being made to build a common European home and to develop good neighborliness and partnership with the principle of noninterference being ranked in first place.

In this connection, even the American and French press have mixed feelings. On the one hand, they welcome the emigration of GDR citizens to the FRG and they praise the unilateral step taken by the Hungarian Government, which, not for the first time, has used the method of "temporarily suspending" adopted international obligations and agreements with other states, and, on the other hand, this same press is following the debates on the so-called unification of Germany with very little enthusiasm.

To everyone, who has not absolutely abandoned the ground of reason, it is clear that breaking up the system of international relations which was formed in postwar Europe could have unforeseen consequences.

Europe is ridding itself of its past prejudices, remnants, and anachronisms from the time of political confrontation with understandable difficulty and there is all the more danger that, in connection with the departure of groups of GDR citizens for the FRG, some politicians in the FRG are attempting, by unacceptable means, to return to the inauspicious past. Judging by the numerous commentaries in the European and American press, no one wants this.

Communists in Poland Feel 'Personally Threatened'

AU1509181589 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 14 Sep 89 p 7

[Pavol Minarik article: "Possibilities For a Broad Coalition; On the Installation of the New Polish Government"]

[Text] On Tuesday [12 September] not one of the 415 Sejm deputies voted against Prime Minister Tadeuz Mazowiecki's new government and only 13 of them abstained. Thus, relatively spontaneously the representatives of all the main political forces in the country expressed their support for the new council of ministers.

When Marshal of the Sejm Kozakiewicz announced that the new government had been elected, it was as if a great weight had been lifted from everyone. However, this decision had a different dimension for each of the political forces. For Solidarity, which came into being 9 years ago on a wave of unrest and strikes in Gdansk, this is an indisputable success. This success is stated structurally by the fact that in the 24-member government (the prime minister and 23 ministers) it has 11 members and, along with Prime Minister T. Mazowiecki and the so-called independent minister, Skubiszewski—the minister for foreign affairs and a supporter and member of Solidarity—it in fact has 13 seats. For the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], which has ceased to be the ruling party, the new facts have, on the other hand, a tinge of serious failure.

For the first time in a socialist country, the most senior legislative organ elected a government in which the leading role will not be played by representatives of the Communist Party, but by those political forces which, until recently, found themselves among the opposition. Some of the new ministers were oriented in an antagonistic manner not only toward the previous government, but also toward the socialist system as a whole. Today these political circles form the majority in the Polish Government.

The government's composition is also reflected in the people's mood. Some are pleased that the opposition, which won the election, is taking up the reigns of power. Others are voicing their fears that socialism in the country is under threat. However, there are also many of those who are indifferent to the current important political change and who do not conceal their worries about their own material existence and future.

The break up of the PZPR's coalition with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party comes as a surprise. This fact created an extraordinarily complicated situation which arose around and within the PZPR. Even without a deeper analysis, it is possible to say that the PZPR is experiencing one of the most complex periods of its history. Problems have reached such a stage that some party organizations are seriously advocating changing the party's name. In public discussions they maintain that under its present name the party has lost the people's trust. From the other side comes the view that changing the party's name alone will not alter anything, while organizational, structural, and mainly program changes do not take place.

During this dramatic situation for the party, the PZPR Central Committee considered, in a responsible manner, whether the PZPR should enter into constructive opposition or cooperate with Solidarity in the government. The PZPR leadership decided to cooperate in a grand coalition government. It is more realistically aware than anyone else that only the intense cooperation of all participants in the internal political process can save Poland in the current situation. Moreover, a new government cabinet without representatives of a party which has more than 2 million members and which has the only realistic program for a way out of the crisis would, as a matter of fact, not correspond to Poland's national interests. Prime Minister Mazowiecki also realized this when he stressed that the process of change that is under way in Poland would not be possible without the Communists' support.

Let us further add that the PZPR remained the only political force which fully adhered to the agreement worked out at the "roundtable." Indisputable social progress took place under its leadership in postwar Poland and Poland's international political status has significantly increased. However, at the present time, the truth remains that, mainly in the last few years, Poland has got itself into grave difficulties in managing the economy and the state. Today it is generally accepted that a new, dynamic and, at the same time, rational method of management should come into being and, although different, it should still be within the framework of Poland as a CEMA and Warsaw Pact member country.

In the situation in which Poland now finds itself, said Marek Krol, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, many Communists are exposed to pressure and feel themselves to be personally threatened. Voices have been heard that, immediately upon taking office, Solidarity will lead an offensive against the party cadres. Meanwhile, the calm tone of T. Mazowiecki's speech in the Sejm on Tuesday suggests that his government is not considering anything like this.

However, there are substantially more question marks hanging over contemporary Poland. The main one is the dramatic economic situation. Even Prime Minister Mazowiecki finally talked about this. He mentioned that for the fourth month in a row production has fallen sharply and that there are grave problems with supplies. Incessant pressure to raise wages has caused among the population a predominance of money over the amount of goods on the market. Inflation is drastically increasing and this ruins all the good things that are beginning in the economy.

It is not possible and it cannot be concealed that this situation has been brought about by the endless strikes for wage rises, without any sufficient improvement in production, which have been strangling the Polish economy since 1980. Solidarity, which has today come to power, not so long ago organized these strikes itself and thus paralyzed all the efforts of the governments of the time. Now Solidarity representatives are appealing for an end to the strikes and are arguing that they will lead the country to ruin. Only time will tell if Solidarity, such a destructive force in the past, can manage to be constructive.

T. Mazowiecki's program, so far put forward only in outline, demands a considerable curb on industrial investments, with the exception of those which have a market nature. He wants to aim the capacities released from the defense industry toward agricultural production. He is also reckoning with the sale of some of society's property, such as smaller plants, restaurants, shops, building sites, and so on. However, so far it is unclear where the new prime minister is heading with these plans.

The implementation of these aims should begin within the next 3 months. In this connection, Solidarity economists are pointing to the compliance of their plans with the Western experts' program which envisages resolving Poland's economic problems with a "sudden leap" into a market economy. It is necessary to reckon with the fact, and the prime minister also emphasized this, that this leap will cause a further increase in prices. The new government is also counting on considerable savings in many spheres of the country's life. The prime minister talked about unemployment which could result under the new conditions and about the need for retraining or migrating to work within the state. He also said that he is counting on the trade union organizations' understanding. The previous prime ministers, Rakowski and Messner, could not rely too much on the unions' understanding. Everything suggests that in the workers' present worsening material situation this government cabinet will not even be able to count on generosity on the part of the unions.

The economic difficulties which, unfortunately, are on the increase, will lead to radical measures. However, everything points to the fact that Poland cannot believe in any economic miracle or in "a shower of dollars" from abroad. The contemporary level of the economy results, first and foremost, from the low efficiency of labor. Its improvement is the key to overcoming the crisis. Poland, indeed, requires radical reform which would create the motivation for better work. However, reform itself will not do the work for people. Much is changing in Poland, in essence; many things are changing except one thing: The rise in wages does not correspond to the amount and quality of the work carried out.

An interesting situation has arisen around the person of Krysztof Skubiszewski—the new minister for foreign affairs. Although he is a member of Solidarity and a close associate of Primate Glemp, he regards himself as an "independent" representative who does not represent any political force. The mass media also regard him as independent. Information on what kind of independence this is, however, is scarce. On Tuesday evening on Soviet television Skubiszewski said that Poland's foreign policy regarding the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is unalterable. It will continue to proceed from bilateral allied and economic agreements, the principles of mutual assistance and friendship, and noninterference in the affairs of another country.

Mazowiecki also emphasizes that his government will respect all the allied undertakings and international agreements which have been adopted. He places great significance on cooperation with the USSR and the other CEMA countries and he declares that Poland is prepared to develop cooperation with its closest neighbors—the CSSR and the GDR—as well as with other East European countries. A similar interest, as has already been stressed many times, is the interest that the Czechoslovak side has in further close cooperation with Poland. After all, Poland is not only our neighbor, but also our traditional ally. We want, and there are prerequisites for this, to transform the broad cooperation between our countries onto qualitatively new dimensions. Therefore, we also have an interest in Poland overcoming its present day problems as soon as possible.

Radio Views Future of Socialism in Poland

LD1609215189 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Unattributed Commentary]

[Text] The developments in the socialist countries have been in the focus of worldwide attention, not only because the processes under way there are unparallelled in the history of socialism but also because socialism is closely associated with the transition of Europe from the period of cold war, tension, and confrontation to detente and laying the foundations to the common European home.

Suffice it to recall the Warsaw Treaty countries' proposals and their summit in Bucharest in 1966, which started off the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, or the unilateral initiative on disarmament in Europe and creating zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons. Therefore the realistically minded politicians in the West acknowledged that stability and security of the European continent is directly linked with stability and prosperity of the socialist countries.

The current process of restructuring in these countries is also assessed from this viewpont. But there are still forces which view all these changes as an opportunity to do away with socialism once and for all. The developments in Poland are considered from this vantage point. Czechoslovakia is of course also interested in these developments, as Poland is its immediate neighbour and the alliance with Poland, based on historical experience, is of major importance for Czechoslovakia's security.

Czechoslovakia is also concerned about the future of socialism in Poland. For the first time in a socialist state Poland's supreme legislative body had elected a government led by political forces which until recently had been in opposition. Some of the new ministers had opposed not only the previous government but also the socialist system. Only time will show whether Solidarity, which has a majority in the present Polish government, will manage to tackle the country's worsening problems.

Poland cannot rely on an economic miracle or millions of dollars in aid from abroad. Even the best conceived reform cannot be effective if the Poles themselves do not work hard enough.

Poland's foreign policy is also in the focus of attention. Premier Mazowiecki stressed that his government would respect all its allied commitments and international agreements. Great Emphasis was laid on cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CEMA countries. He also spoke in favor of maintaining Poland's membership in the Warsaw alliance, but attempts by influencial circles in the United States and West Germany to change the postwar set-up of Europe and to turn Poland and eventually countries away from the Warsaw Treaty as well as to reunite Germany are raising concern because they jeopardize the current process of peaceful reconstruction of international relations.

Higher Fuel Prices for Hungarians Explained

AU1809153489

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 15 September on pages 1 and 2 carries an 800-word interview with Juraj Kulisiak, director of the customs administration of the Slovak Socialist Republic, by Gustav Capko and Peter Bulik entitled "On the Adjustment in the Prices of Gasoline for Citizens of the Hungarian People's Republic." The interview, the date and place of which are not given, deals with the reasons which prompted Czechoslovak authorities to charge Hungarian citizens a higher price for gasoline as of 18 September. The Czechoslovak move is also the subject of a 350-word undated interview with Frantisek Pavelka, CSSR deputy minister of finance, in Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 16 September on page 2, in the "Question" column.

In his interview with RUDE PRAVO, Kulisiak explains that, following a series of price rises in Hungary, gasoline there now costs an equivalent of Kcs12 to Kcs13, whereas it costs only Kcs8 to Kcs9 (depending on the octane rating) in Czechoslovakia. This price differential, and the fact that Hungarian banks sell the Czechoslovak currency in unlimited quantities, has reportedly led to "invasions" by Hungarian motorists of south Slovak border towns, such as Sturovo, Komarno, or Calovo. This "shopping fever" has reportedly lasted for "quite a long time" and Benzinol, the Czechoslovak monopoly distributor of motor fuels, "has started to call attention to the disproportionate strain on local filling stations." According to a statistical survey, up to 1,300 Hungarian motorists a day have reportedly been buying an average of 50,500 liters of gasoline in southern Slovakia. Confronted with the claim in "some Hungarian information media" that the Czechoslovak move amounts to "discrimination against Hungarian citizens," Kulisiak says: "If they are referring to those who have been buying in Czechoslovakia 120 to 150 liters of gasoline every day, it is their own personal view. As the person in charge, I can say that our customs officials have been and are behaving correctly toward Hungarian citizens, naturally, in harmony with the valid customs regulations and laws of our state, one of which stipulates that foreign motorists carrying gasoline in portable containers across our border must pay an administrative fee amounting of 150 percent of the price of gasoline." Kulisiak also points out that the sale of gasoline for vouchers is "no novelty" (since the GDR, Romania, and Bulgaria require Czechoslovak motorists to purchase gasoline in this way) and that "the Czechoslovak measures have a temporary validity of 2 months."

In his interview for RUDE PRAVO, Pavelka provides details on the prices of gasoline which Hungarian motorists will be required to pay in Czechoslovakia as of 18 September. According to Pavelka, the "BA 900 Special" and "BA 91 Natural" brands will cost Kcs14 per liter and the "BA 98 Super" and "BA 95 Eurosuper" brands will cost Kcs15 per liter. "In fixing the price," Pavelka says, "we also took into consideration the unrealistic exchange rate of the forint, which is evidently overvalued against the koruna; in our opinion unjustifiedly." Pavelka concedes that, converted to forints, the new Czechoslovak price of gasoline is 17 percent higher than the price in Hungary, but he also points out that, at the current rate of exchange, Czechoslovak citizens are required to pay as much as 50 percent more for gasoline in Hungary than they pay for it in Czechoslovakia. Pavelka goes on to say: "During talks between the deputy ministers of finance of the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic in Bratislava on 14 September, the Czechoslovak side declared that, if the Hungarian side accedes to a change in the rate of exchange between the koruna and the forint, which so far it has been refusing to do, not only will the reasons disappear for the sale of gasoline to Hungarian citizens for vouchers, but also the reasons for other possible measures directed against speculative purchases." In conclusion, Pavelka corrects a statement made by Juraj Kulisiak in the 15 September interview. He says that the Czechoslovak measure is "temporary" but that the "validity of 2 months" should refer to the validity of the vouchers with which Hungarian motorists will be buying gasoline in Czechoslovakia and not to the measure as such.

Soviet Mig-29 in Test Flight Celebrated

LD1509192589 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Celebrations of Czechoslovak Airforce Day were held today at the Zvolen fighter regiment in Ceske Budejovice. The formation continues the glorious traditions of the times of World War II. It was formed in the beginning of July 1944 on the territory of the USSR, and after that it significantly supported the Slovak National Uprising from the Zolna airfield near Zvolen. Part of today's South Bohemian celebrations was also devoted to a test flight of the Mig-29—a supersonic plane of soviet construction and production.

[Begin recording] [unidentified interviewer] Comrade General, what does the incorporation of this plane in our air defenses mean?

[Unidentified general] Well, as you know, the air defenses of our country are fulfilling and always have been fulfilling purely defensive tasks. That is, tasks which stem also from the current defense doctrine of Czechoslovakia, as well as the defense doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states. The incorporation of this most advanced plane in the state's air defenses means also the actual implementation of the policy of reasonable sufficiency in the defense of our state. What is involved is that, when reducing numbers, one has to safeguard quality.

[Interviewer] The MIG-29, which belongs to fourth-generation combat technology, can achieve a speed of up to 2,465 km per hour, it can fly in the altitude of almost 20 000 metres, and it can fly almost 2,000 km without refuelling. Its modern construction and aerodynamics allow for easy maneuvering. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Parliament Discusses Relations With U.S.

AU1809135689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Sep 89 p 2

["CTK,zr"-signed report: "On the Drafts of New Laws"]

[Excerpt] Prague—[passage omitted] A 2-day joint meeting of the foreign affairs committees of both chambers of the Federal Assembly started in Prague on Wednesday [13 September] with a report on topical questions of Czechoslovak-U.S. relations. In the debate on this point on the agenda, the deputies called attention, inter alia, to the fact that the level of relations between the two countries is not commensurate with the requirements of new thinking in international policy.

They endorsed a further intensification of contacts between deputies to the CSSR Federal Assembly and the U.S. Congress and a further rise in the effectiveness of these contacts.

Slusovice, Western Software Firm Sign Agreement

AU1509173789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Sep 89 p 1

[Interview with Richard Havlik, "representative" of the Agrokombinat Slusovice United Agricultural Cooperative, by Evzen Stanek: "Highly Profitable Sale"; in Prague, date not given; opening paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Excerpt] On the occasion of the Autocad Expo Prague 89 international exhibition of computer programs, which is organized by the Zenithcentrum of the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee, the Agrokombinat Slusovice United Agricultural Cooperative and Autodesk Ltd., the world's largest firm producing graphics programs for computers, signed an agreement on cooperation in the joint development and sale of computer systems and programs. We have asked Dr Richard Havlik, Agrokombinat's representative at the exhibition, about the expected contribution from this partnership.

[Stanek] In what specifically did Autodesk Ltd. show interest?

[Havlik] The first negotiations between us and the Autodesk company were held this January. The cornerstone of our cooperation will be the so-called volume modeler, which was developed by our employee Engineer Jiri Kripac. It is, to put it in simplified terms, a program for the graphical representation of spatial, three-dimensional models directly on the screen. It greatly facilitates and speeds up the work of, above all, machine designers. It is the until now largest contract for computer programs concluded in Czechoslovakia with a firm from a nonsocialist country. We expect the contribution for our state from the sale and distribution of this volume modeler to be in the range of hundreds of thousands of dollars.

[Stanek] Does this mean that you were in the position to offer something which even very strong international competitors were unable to provide?

[Havlik] Yes. Although similar systems do exist in the world, almost all of them have been designed for bigger computers priced at $8,000 to $10,000. Our program is one of the few that can be used on personal computers, which are up to 10 times cheaper. Moreover, it works at almost 20 times the speed of similar programs.

[Stanek] Where, in your opinion, do the roots of this success lie?

[Havlik] It is true that we have problems with the shortage of personal computers and their use, but we have many outstanding young computer programmers. Engineer J. Kripac himself can serve as an example. He completed his top-notch program at the age of 25. [passage omitted]

Press Office Head Says Economy 'In Order'

AU1909095889 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 19 Sep 89 p 2

["t.c." report: "Communist Party Has not Failed; Talk With Head of CSSR Press Department"]

[Text] Vienna—"Do you really think that the Communist Party in the CSSR has failed to the same degree as the Polish Communist Party which voluntarily relinquished power?" says Miroslav Pavel, director of the Press Department in the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium, showing his self-confidence in his talk with DIE PRESSE during his current visit to Austria. The situation in the CSSR cannot be compared with that in Poland or Hungary, he says. "Our economy is in order, our people are not starving," he points out. Asked whether the government plans to carry out any kind of reforms, he replies with a question: "What reforms?"

He does not know anything about attempts by CSSR authorities to prevent GDR citizens from traveling to Hungary, he stresses. Pavel states that there are several reasons why so many young GDR citizens are leaving their country or are planning to leave it. Through their reportage, the Western media, particularly West German television, induce increasing numbers to emigrate. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the GDR has made mistakes that are leading to a backlash now. The director of the Prague government's Press Department does not want to elaborate.

Enterprises in the CSSR will receive almost complete economic independence as of 1 January 1990, he emphasizes. As far as trips to the West are concerned, CSSR citizens have three possibilities: First, participation in organized trips to the West; second, application for foreign exchange; and third, invitations from relatives or friends in the West. As of the coming year, CSSR citizens will have no problem traveling to Yugoslavia via Austria, Pavel announces.

Jakes 16 Sep Speech Concludes CPCZ Meeting

AU1909104889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Sep 89 p 1

[Report of the concluding speech made by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the nationwide meeting of the leading secretaries of party regional and district committees, in Prague on 16 September]

[Text] Comrade Milos Jakes spoke at the end of the nationwide meeting of leading secretaries of party regional and district committees.

He praised the frank and constructive nature of the meeting whose contents will be responsibly discussed by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium, the results of which will then be utilized in its further work. He expressed his conviction that the knowledge gained from the 2-day meeting will contribute to improving the quality of work in the party regional and district organizations throughout the pre-congress period while they are preparing for and carrying out the annual members' meetings and conferences. He also replied to questions posed by the meeting's participants.

"We all know that this period is not simple and that we are resolving demanding tasks. The fate of our country, as well as how successfully we manage to increase and multiply everything that has been created and completed during the past 40 years of building socialism in Czechoslovakia, is being decided. This requires from each one of us, from all communists, not only an in depth knowledge of the issues and a political awareness but it also requires selflessness and that we make demands on ourselves. It is clear that the leading functionaries—in the district, region, and central committee—must set an example in this regard," said Comrade Milos Jakes.

He later spoke about the main tasks of the upcoming period. He particularly emphasized that along with the thorough and energetic fulfillment of the aims of economic reform and the democratization of all spheres of the life of our society, the socioeconomic tasks of this year's plan, and the preparations for the 1990 plan, the main tasks involve completing the preparation of the congress documents and their submission for intra-party and public discussion. "We want to ensure that their discussion is connected with actively solving the tasks and problems in workplaces and localities so that people openly express their points of view and come up with suggestions and recommendations," stressed Comrade Milos Jakes. "The entire pre-congress period should be highlighted by great political, economic, and ideological activity. At the same time, efforts to ensure that the party's concord and capability of action, its spirit of militancy, high demands, and responsibility, without which it would be impossible to deal with the tasks that face us, must be at the center of attention.

"We are implementing a realistic policy which has the people's support. We have enough experience and we know what is good for us and what is not. We also know what it is necessary to do today and what it is necessary to do in the future. There is a great deal of work in front of us. However, it is work for the benefit of our party and people, socialism and peace. The main battlefield will continue to be the dynamic development of our socialist country and its economy and the thorough endurance of the process of restructuring and democratization. In the whole of society we need to orient ourselves toward greater efficiency, economy, order, and discipline. Only the sufficient formation of resources, a new quality of dynamism of the national economy, and the creation of a broad scope for realizing the people's creative forces is the way to improve their life and the way toward insuring that Czechoslovakia develops as a modern and stabilized socialist state," said Comrade Milos Jakes in conclusion.

Jakes Assesses Impact of Economic Reform

LD1809192189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Excerpts] The 31st international engineering fair in Brno was visited today by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee. [passage omitted] At the end of his visit, we asked Comrade Milos Jakes for a brief assessment.

[Begin recording] [Jakes] I would say that so far it cannot be said unequivocally that what we can see here is the result of restructuring, but the awareness that restructuring is underway—and economic reform since 1 January—is probably having an influence here. After all in many of the manufacturers there is a new awareness that we cannot be satisfied with what has been achieved so far, that it is necessary to wage a struggle to attain the level of the best in the world at least, at the beginning, in part of our range of goods, which is extraordinarily wide, and turn to new fields where we have not so far played any role but which, from the point of view of prospects, are extraordinarily important. Here I mean, for example, biotechnology, ecology, and other fields.

I would assess as positive the fact that we are trying to become more widely involved in the international division of labor, especially on the basis of production-sharing. It is clear that we have here cooperation ventures not only with the socialist countries, but it can even be said that these cooperation ventures are on a much broader scale with a number of capitalist firms. Our restructuring, I mean economic reform, is creating exceptionally favorable conditions for the acceleration of the development of science and technology and the assimilation of new equipment and technologies, because, in the light of the state enterprise bill and autonomy, specific enterprises will become increasingly involved in direct relations and decision-making on these issues. In this respect—and I think that this can be seen at this trade fair too—this awareness is already being translated into action in some enterprise. There is much greater interest in this than ever before. [end recording]

Stepan Lambasts Opponents of Restructuring

LD1809220389 Prague CTK in English 2005 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 18 (CTK)—The need for Czechoslovakia to consistently continue the line of restructuring was stressed by Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and leading secretary of the Prague City Communist Party Committee Miroslav Stepan at a meeting of chairmen of Communist Party organizations from the whole of Prague today.

He noted that the restructuring processes in the whole socialist community are undergoing a stormy and often very conflictive development. He stressed the need to continue the started line, pointing out that "we must not let ourselves be diverted under various pressures, possible conflicts and risks from the settlement of tasks on which the fate of restructuring and democratization and further sound development of society are dependent". He said a great part of the Prague population support restructuring but a considerable part assumes a wait-and-see attitude.

Characterizing anti-socialist forces as disliking the line of restructuring, development of democratization and open evaluation of the past and present on the party's initiative, Miroslav Stepan said they would like to stir chaos in order to be able to hide their manoeuvres aimed at hindering the continuous advance of restructuring, at denying the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and at destabilizing society. "It is a gross error or evil intention not to see the whole period in objective historical connections, to pass judgements while losing the memory of history. Former foreign minister in 1968 Mr Jiri Hajek, for instance, has demonstrated this in his letter to the (Soviet paper) IZVESTIYA last week", Miroslav Stepan said.

Dealing with party work among young people, he stressed the need to start a serious dialogue with them and fight to win them, especially at universities, factories and apprentice training centres.

Relationship Between Church, State Discussed

AU1609180589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Sep 89 p 2

[Bohumil Prachensky reply to a reader's question: "The State and the Bishops"]

[Text] Our reader, M. Brazda from Prerov, read the report in Monday's [11 September] RUDE PRAVO on the oath of allegiance to the CSSR taken by the two newly appointed Roman Catholic bishops—DTh Josef Koukl and DTh Frantisek Vanak. Now he has telephoned the editorial office and has asked: "What is the proper status of bishops and diocesan administrators in our country?" Does the state "take them seriously?" And why, apparently, "is it not reacting to the suggestions of the Czech primate, Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek....?"

The bishops and their temporary deputies—the administrators of the dioceses (church regions administered by bishops)—have, from an ecclesiastical and social point of view, widespread authority and influence, and through the medium of the clergy in their dioceses they influence the conduct of thousands of believers—the conduct of believing fellow citizens who are, in the majority, active participants in the socioeconomic changes.

Our state's interest in ensuring that those in senior church posts are realistically thinking people and people capable of constructive cooperation with state organs stems from the importance which it places on the church and its officials. This is also laid down by the appropriate law; the prior agreement of the state is necessary for the appointment of an ordinary (that is, the head of the applicable church office). A large number of clergy, including the most senior church officials, have a positive or loyal attitude toward socialist society and our state.

The willingness of ordinaries to resolve the existing problems in mutual relations between the church and state by means of a calm dialogue and via arguments expounding the view of both sides and attempts to seek and find satisfactory solutions and starting points in the interest of believers and the whole of society are not, however, to the liking of some people. The Catholic Church's road of close cooperation with the state has brought tangible results, for example, in the chance to supplement the number of nuns, to resolve the shortage of clergymen by introducing a so-called permanent deaconry (laymen can carry out some priestly functions), and to change the method of registering for religious instruction. However, obviously, some laymen and priests, aside from their spiritual service, do not want to follow this road. Therefore, they organize various petitions against the alleged lack of religious freedom in our country and they send these petitions to various addresses. Among the demands, which are already being met at talks between ordinaries and representatives of the state, are those which are not associated with religious requirements and which are of an exclusively political nature.

The prior agreement of the state on the appointment of an ordinary and his oath of allegiance to his socialist homeland also mean that our state is placing its trust in these church officials and that it regards them as the only sanctioned partners in negotiations on issues of mutual interest. Thus, the state "takes them absolutely seriously," if we may use our reader's expression.

What about the suggestions of the archbishop of Prague, Frantisek Tomasek? At the beginning of June of this year, the archbishop sent the president of the Republic his point of view on the Constitution which is being prepared. As the Czech primate himself says, he received the president's reply very quickly, a reply which contains an invitation to participate in the work of the commission which is Preparing the new constitution. At the same time, the primate's suggestions were conveyed to this commission.

The ordinaries who have the trust both of the church and of the state do not require any "disservice" from mediators behind the scenes in order to carry out their function.

Legality of 'Unauthorized Enterprise' Reevaluated

AU1309132389

[Editorial report] Prague HALO SOBOTA in Czech No. 36, the weekend supplement of Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech of 9 September, publishes on its page 12, in the

"The Law and Us" column, a 1,500-word article by Jiri Teryngel, LLD, entitled "Material Profit from Unauthorized Enterprise." The article deals with a new ruling by the "Penal Advisory Board of the CSSR Supreme Court," passed on 8 June 1989, by which it "changed the interpretation of the stipulations of Paragraph 118 of the Penal Code on the criminal offense of unauthorized enterprise."

Teryngel says that, until now, Czechoslovak courts have qualified as "inordinate profit from unauthorized enterprise" any private enterprise performed without authorization, in which the perpetrator earned Kcs50,000, after the deduction of material, energy, and transportation costs. The value of the offender's own work has not been recognized as a deductible item. Under the new ruling, he says, in assessing the profit from unauthorized enterprise, the courts are instructed to include among the deductible items the value of the offender's own labor input. If the profit calculated in this new way does not exceed the sum of Kcs50,000, the courts are instructed not to qualify the conduct as a criminal offense under paragraph 118, but to treat it as a misdemeanor (because the work was performed without authorization) and, if applicable, as tax evasion.

Teryngel explains the new ruling with "changed social and economic conditions," arguing that citizens should now be encouraged to "show greater activity in satisfying the needs of the population," rather than being deterred from it. He notes that, according to findings of the CSSR Prosecutor General's Office, people charged with unauthorized enterprise under Paragraph 118 were, as a rule, performing "services and jobs which socialist organizations provide either inadequately or not at all." Moreover, they were performing these services and jobs on their own and, had they been in possession of the national committee's authorization, would therefore have been entitled to compensation. The "standpoint" of the CSSR Supreme Court also shows, according to Teryngel, that "the prosecution of unauthorized enterprise definitely is not motivated by an endeavor to eliminate competitors for socialist organizations."

Paper Critcizes Yeltsin Remarks on GDR

LD1909082789 Hamburg DPA in German 0713 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on Tuesday sharply criticized the Soviet reform politician Boris Yeltsin, who demanded freedom of movement in the Eastern bloc in view of the mass emigration from the GDR. Yeltsin responded to the "invitation to God's own country" by "participating in the slander campaign by these media against the GDR." "We reject this totally," the commentator writes.

"What is right and legal in our country is determined by the elected representatives of the GDR people." This was not "regulated" by other states, as Yeltsin thought. And when he came out in favor of a "reunification of Germany," he proved that he does not understand "the nature of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people." But this is not to be expected of a person "who runs from door to door in Washington and begs for financial aid."

At a lecture in Baltimore (Maryland), Yeltsin came out in favor of granting the people in Eastern Europe the right to free emigration through international agreements. With reference to the mass exodus, the 58-year-old said, "No matter how difficult this is for the country itself," such treaties must ensure that "people have the right to live where they want." Thus, he was expressing opposition to official statements from Moscow, which had spoken of a "campaign against the GDR."

Mittag, Ligachev Meet, Discuss Cooperation

LD1409194889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1622 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, today received Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at the SED Central Committee building for friendly and cordial talks. In these talks members of the Politburo and secretaries of the SED Central Committee Horst Dohlus, Werner Jarowinsky and Werner Krolikowski, as well as the candidate member of the Politburo and chairman of the State Planning Commission, Gerhard Schuerer, also participated.

Guenter Mittag conveyed very cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR's Council of State, to his guest. In this connection Erich Honecker reasserted that his meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow on 28 June this year had laid another milestone in the extension and deepening of relations between the GDR and the Soviet Union in the spirit of the firm militant alliance between the SED and the CPSU.

During the meeting Yegor Ligachev announced that Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, intended to take part in the celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic. The announcement was received with gratitude and pleasure.

Referring to the upcoming 40th anniversary of the GDR, the two men stated in agreement that the stable and dynamic development of the GDR is important for strengthening socialism as a whole. Forty years of the GDR are also 40 years of unbreakable friendship with the Soviet Union. It should also be the case in future that the GDR's further advance along the path of socialism is linked with the further strengthening of relations between the GDR and the USSR.

The two men concurred that the German Democratic Republic has assumed a worthy place in the family of European nations for 4 decades now. As a result of its very existence and its active policy aimed at harmony among the people, the GDR has contributed to a large extent to guaranteeing peace, security and good-neighborliness in Europe, and will continue to contribute in this way.

Yegor Ligachev condemned the tendentious campaign against the German Democratic Republic which has recently been conducted by some mass media and certain political circles of the FRG. This applies especially to illegal acts and the violation of universally applicable norms of international law under the pretext of a caring duty for all Germans. All this is linked with the activation of chauvinistically minded circles in the FRG, which still refuse to accept the existing political and territorial realities in Europe and have to this day refused to give up the absurd idea of the "annexation of the GDR." It must also be a cause for concern when individual West German politicians and journalists even express statements about the elimination of the postwar order as a task for practical politics.

In this context both parties stressed that the GDR is an inseparable member of the Warsaw Pact, as well as a loyal friend and ally of the Soviet Union. That must be clear to all those who are attempting to encroach upon the sovereignty and independence of the GDR. Yegor Ligachev stressed: "We have a Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the GDR. All those who wish to encroach upon the sovereignty and independence of the GDR should be aware of the fact that the Soviet Union is resolved, as a loyal friend and ally of the GDR, to adhere strictly to this Friendship Treaty with the GDR."

Guenter Mittag briefed Yegor Ligachev on the SED's activities in preparation for its 12th party congress, particularly on how the prerequisites are being created through a further rise in economic performance for the continuation of the proven course of the unity of economic and social policy. The tasks to be solved in this will be undertaken and solved in alliance with all classes and social strata in the GDR and in a close and trusting relationship between people and party. People are aware which high demands will arise particularly from the dynamism of the development of productive forces for the strengthening of socialism.

Yegor Ligachev explained the experience and the results of the CPSU's work on implementing the policy decided at the 27th Party Congress and the 19th Party Conference of the CPSU. He said he is satisfied with the impressions gathered by him and his delegation during his stay so far in the GDR, on his visits to agricultural production cooperatives, state farms and scientific institutes, and said he is impressed by the many friendly meetings and the great cordiality shown to the delegation everywhere.

Referring to economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the GDR and the USSR, he noted with satisfaction that purposeful work is in progress on implementing the agreements reached for this between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev, which is of great importance for both countries.

Taking part in the talk were Yuriy Manayenkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Lipetsk Oblast Committee, and the other members of the Soviet delegation. Also present was the USSR ambassador to the GDR, V.I. Kochemasov.

Ligachev Discusses Talks

LD1409215389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1725 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Yegor Ligachev, CPSU Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, today gave Lutz Renner, a correspondent for Aktuelle Kamera of GDR Television the following interview:

[Renner] You have returned from our party's Central Committee and have spoken with members of the Politburo. Were the talks successful as always?

[Ligachev] Yes, the meeting with members and candidate members of the Politburo, Comrades Mittag, Krolikowski, Dohlus, Jarowinsky, and Comrade Schuerer has just ended. I would say it was a genuine meeting, a genuine conversation with true friends. It was very extensive and meaty. We dealt thoroughly with all the significant issues connected with political, economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between our two countries, the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic. We also talked very briefly but thoroughly about the fulfillment of the agreements between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Erich Honecker, as well as existing agreements. In this area there is much for us to do.

As always, there was also full agreement this time on all basic issues concerning both the development of our relations and our views on international events. We also had a very thorough discussion of the issues linked with solving agricultural problems in our countries. During this I particularly underlined the GDR's remarkable experiences in this area. We also expressed our reaction to the many meetings we had over the past few days with working people from the GDR as well as with party and economic functionaries. In short I would like to say it was an inspiring meeting with good and loyal friends.

[Renner] For over 40 years the GDR and the USSR have cooperated closely in all social areas. How do you evaluate the current level of bilateral relations? What prospects do you see, Comrade Ligachev?

[Ligachev] Yes, it really has been 40 years during which relations between our fraternal states have developed very actively in all areas of economic and social life. I think we have reason to say that they have developed fruitfully. In any case, that is my opinion; both we and our German friends are more than satisfied with what is going on.

We also feel that continuously, daily, in the fulfillment of the set plans for social, economic and political development of our states. But we also see unexploited opportunities. I believe that the best prospects are present, and so I think that here cooperation in scientific-technical progress must be fashioned more actively.

We know that in both the Soviet Union and the GDR, that which is now necessary for today's world is present. In this connection I believe that we must develop our relations more intensively, indeed in the sphere of production cooperation, of direct relations between enterprises, collectives, combines, and associations. Here we have looked around us attentively today and we see great possibilities. We must also consolidate relations in the field of research. Here we must set course for the most important areas, especially electronification, biotechnology, gene technology, and many other spheres.

Among other things, we also see much sense in examining questions concerning the improvement of basic methods of economic management. You know that this is particularly important both in the GDR and the Soviet Union. I believe that these are the main directions in which we can further develop and from which both sides will benefit.

[Renner] Both sides are united by the program of scientific-technical cooperation to the year 2000, agreed upon by Comrade Erich Honecker and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev. What, in your opinion, is the significance of this cooperation for developing the industry of agriculture of our two countries?

[Ligachev] I would say that without science nothing can be achieved in any sphere of human life. Only with science, only through the linking of science and production, can people's lives be improved, the economy be developed, and many social questions be solved.

This basically goes without saying today. I think, and here I repeat myself, that we can enrich one another and solve the cardinal question—the development of electronics. We see that the GDR is quite successful in this area and we too, are very active in this sphere. We are establishing a large new electronics center. The rate of renewal and the scope of production of electronic goods are rapidly increasing. We are devoting scientific findings to this. We have very efficient supra-branch complexes, also for electrical engineering, and I think that we must therefore continue to develop this area comprehensively and make progress here.

With reference to scientific-technical cooperation in the agro-industrial complex: On our visit to the cooperatives we were very impressed with the way that scientists work side by side with practicioners. And we understood that a scientist can only see his life in terms of translating his research into practice. The president of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences of our Republic told us that today every scientist is judged according to how his research is applied in the cooperative, the state farm, or in other enterprises of the agro-industrial complex. We like that, since we are also directing our research collectives towards such working methods.

Recently a very interesting form of linking scientific-technical progress with production in the agro-industrial complex has been found, and that is the establishment of so-called research and production systems or production systems. If the forces of science and production are united on an economic foundation, on a foundation of mutual interest, then science will help in transferring its research and development, agricultural enterprises will take over the latter, produce additional products, and thereby recompense the work of the scientists. This seems to us to be the only correct system. Visible successes are already apparent. We have established that in the GDR, too, work is being carried out this way. To spell it out: This is undoubtedly the main direction of our cooperation, i.e. scientific-technical progress.

I have noticed that the comrades in the GDR are also working towards this. And if there is the common goal and interest, then I think we will make successful progress. However, I would also not seek to hide the fact that we too have serious failings in this area. We are working too slowly in individual areas and there we have to get a real move on.

[Renner] You spoke about our agriculture. What are your impressions of our agricultural sector on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the GDR?

[Ligachev] Above all, I would like to say that the active experiences of the socialist countries' Communist Parties in building socialism are constantly studied. We place very great value on the fraternal countries' experiences. What is more, over the past few years we have made great efforts to instill respect for these experiences in our society. Thus we came to the German Democratic Republic on behalf of the Politburo to study its experience in solving agricultural problems: How and by what means have the German comrades succeeded in bringing about cardinal socio-economic changes in the countryside and in the agrarian sector within a seemingly short period of time and in providing the country with sufficient high quality food stuffs. And here we have seen thoroughly interesting experiences. We certainly had many meetings with representatives of the party and the economy, with experts, and with cooperative farmers, and there were very many lively discussions.

[Renner] What was of interest for you here?

[Ligachev] There was much of interest concerning issues connected with organization and management as well as with planning and pricing in the agro-industrial complex. At present that is very interesting for us. Why? Because we have practically started to tackle the fulfillment of a modern agricultural policy worked out at this year's March plenary session of the party's Central Committee. At present these issues are not merely theoretical, but we have begun to put them into practice. These issues are of great importance to us. We have seen much of interest here.

For example, the issue of specialization: We have noted that, in organizational terms, when one talks about the lower, basic unit of social production, agriculture here looks like so-called inter-enterprise associations to which, for example, five or six agricultural enterprises belong, of which one enterprise is concerned with crop production and the others with livestock production. We are also working in the sphere of specialization, but in a somewhat different direction. I think that we will also make use of the experiences of our friends in the GDR in this direction.

We have discovered numerous interesting technological solutions, above all in relation to the cultivation of potatoes and grain cultures. We have seen in practice how this is organized. We have made interesting observations in the introduction of economic accounting or, as we say, contractual relations. This has already been applied in our country. In a word, there was not enough time. There were many questions, both from one side and the other; there was a really comprehensive exchange of views.

[Renner] What sort of interest has the 40th anniversary of the GDR aroused in the Soviet Union?

[Ligachev] Put it this way: Events in another country, a fraternal country, always arouse great interest on the part of our citizens. I am not saying that to show my people in a favorable light. That has long been the case, it is historically so. People have a lively interest not only in their own, but also in the life of their friends, their allies, their class brothers, brothers in our common cause. We have a whole organizational plan for the implementation of sociopolitical events of this type in connection with the 40th anniversary—meetings, press publications, radio and television interviews. Work is currently being carried out on this very actively and intensively. Added to this are the delegations that will directly participate in the anniversary celebrations, which both the party and social organizations will send. We must now greatly intensify relations with labor collectives, between regions, cities, and rayons. But I must say right away that not all the possibilities here have been exhausted; there are still others.

We must strengthen that now. Everything forces us to this, the situation that is arising in our countries, in the European region. That is why we will do this comprehensively, but pragmatically. There are so many relations between enterprises and there is an economic interest, also at the level of the mass organizations, and therefore it will be a pleasant matter for us. But everything must be approached in a businesslike manner.

[Renner] I work in the West. In the West there is tangibly stronger interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries. In the FRG a campaign of provocation has been running for weeks, which is aimed particularly at the GDR's sovereignty. How do you assess these machinations?

[Ligachev] I would like to say that our visit has taken place at a time when the FRG was stepping up this provocative campaign. We have expressed our attitude to it in a TASS statement. In this connection I would like to stress the following: Chauvinistically minded circles in the FRG are actually dreaming of how the GDR can be annexed. We regard such activities as attempts to revise the results, all results, of the Second World War. We regard such activities as attempts to violate the postwar order in Western Europe, with all the consequences this entails. Therefore, we say to all those who are engaged in such provocations, all those who attack the sovereignty and independence of the GDR: The GDR is our true friend, our proven ally. We recall that there is a treaty of friendship and mutual assistance between the Soviet Union and the GDR, and we reaffirm our loyalty to this treaty. Nothing must be left unsaid here. That is our position in this question.

[Renner] What are the main directions of the present activity of the CPSU?

[Ligachev] You know that for some years now we have pursued a policy of restructuring, a policy of renewal, a policy of social change.

I can say without exaggeration that our people, and our party, which is the leading force of the people, is sticking to the policy of restructuring and renewal. This is not a passing fad, but simply necessary. We have no alternative, we have no other way. The whole development of society is actually a constant process of perfection. That is like a person's life, as Lenin said, we have to constantly reform and improve in order to improve the life of our people, both in the material and spiritual areas, so that the people are really drawn into and included in running society. That is the nature of this restructuring and renewal. It was also brought about by the fact that this period of restructuring was preceded by manifestations of stagnation—in the economy, society, social life, and morality.

We have made progress, indeed quite significant progress, in developing the economy, in solving social issues, particularly in developing housing construction and in developing the whole social and cultural complex. There is more food; there is also a significant improvement in the production of consumer goods. The latter has mainly been achieved through converting our defense industry. However, at the moment our market is so flooded with money that much of it cannot be satisfied with goods. For this reason the rise in production is not having a very tangible effect at the moment, because in many areas of consumer goods we have not achieved the optimal, quantitative, and scientifically based norms. For this reason, we were confronted with a whole series of difficulties: difficulties in the economy, difficulties in the financial sector, in the political and social area, as well as in ethnic relations. Unfortunately, there has been an increase in criminality and violations of socialist law. As you know, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev recently gave a television address in which he assessed the situation. He cited the reasons for these manifestations and pointed to ways of overcoming them. The party knows the difficulties and is doing everything to localize them, overcome them, and achieve further progress. I would say that this is of basic significance.

One other thing. Some of these difficulties were unexpected, for example, issues concerning ethnic relations. At this point, I would like to say first of all and with full responsibility: Regardless of certain complications in ethnic relations, in individual national republics on the whole we have created a powerful, strong, and united multi-national state for the first time in the world—and there is no other example of this. You can say what you will, but the Great Patriotic War proved the strength of our multi-national state. However, in the end, practice is what decides the correctness and strength of a social order, not speculation.

In spite of all this, however, questions have come onto the agenda which will require a certain solution. How will they be solved? First of all, it must be said that a full session of the party's Central Committee is due in the next few days at which current issues of nationalities policy will be discussed. However, we will do everything to grant all republics, the Union and autonomous republics, a maximum of rights and opportunities within the framework of a unitary Soviet Socialist Federation—I repeat: within the framework of a unitary Soviet Socialist Federation—as well as granting more opportunities, more initiative and independence to all constituent parts of the party within the framework of the CPSU. That is, so to speak, our line on this issue.

What more can be said on this? At the moment we are raising the responsibility of leading Communists for the state of things quite intensively. There was recently a Politburo session on this at which certain people were brought to book for serious failings, in particular concerning the provision of our people with basic goods.

However, if we want to talk about the most important thing, then this is a comprehensive perfecting of our party, and all its constituent parts. At present the closed ranks of our party, the ideological and organizational consolidation of all constituent parts of the party, the strengthening of party discipline, and—I would say—fulfilling the requirements of the statutes and program of the party most strictly—are of particular significance. That is the most important problem of all. Our thinking is such: If the necessary order reigns in our party, which corresponds to the party statutes and is not the result of some diktat or tightening the thumb screws, then order will reign in society, because the party is the most important leading force. However, because our state is multi-national we cannot do without our party at all.

In view of the fact that we are a multi-national state, we reject a multi-party system, if not only for that reason. We believe that in our country there is one political party; that is just an outcome of history. That party is the CPSU, which not only reflects the interests of all classes, but strives to realize them by various channels, with various methods. I would therefore like to repeat that the strengthening of the party is of decisive importance. That is our main weapon, our most important resource and most effective instrument in continuing, further developing, and perfecting the policy of restructuring, the policy of renewal, the policy of social change in our country.

[Renner] A further question, Comrade Ligachev: How do you see the question of war and peace today?

[Ligachev] Just as it has always been seen by communists: for peace, against war. Marx and Engels drafted these ideas, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin subsequently developed them further—the idea of the devotion of socialists and communists to peace. For us, an ideal world is a world without wars, a world which is ultimately without weapons, and therefore virtually all our activity, and the activity of our friends, including the GDR, is aimed at strengthening peace, at the switch from confrontation to active cooperation. But this does not depend on us alone. It is a two-way street. I think that recently, as a result of the circumspect foreign policy of the Soviet Union, with Mikhail Gorbachev at the helm, and of all our friends and realistically minded people throughout the world, the whole progressive public, has succeeded in considerably reducing tensions in the world. However, we still have a long way to go to actually implement the disarmament process and to strengthen peace, in order to thereby create the conditions for a peaceful and secure life for all peoples and the whole of mankind. That is an imperative need.

In our time, a time in which humanity has the weapons to destroy itself, there is simply no other way. This is of principal significance. I would like to say that our party, our government, and our entire people are totally dedicated to peace. However, at the same time we are also maintaining our defenses at a certain level, at a sufficiently secure level. At present, while we are converting our defense industry to producing civilian products, it is at the same time retaining its task of qualitatively perfecting technology. However, at the same time we are converting very extensive capacities, colossal production capacities, a great intellectual and scientific potential, to the production of equipment for the food-processing industry, light industry, and consumer goods.

[Renner] Thank you very much, Comrade Ligachev and all the best for you and the comrades in the Soviet Union. Thank you!

[Ligachev] Many thanks for giving me the opportunity to speak on GDR television. On behalf of our delegation and the party's Central Committee, I would like to wish you fresh success in building socialism in the GDR. I wish you all the best—and we are convinced of this—in marking the 40th anniversary, I would like to wish all the Republic's citizens all the best, good health, good humor and all the very best.

Visit Satisfies Ligachev

LD1509170489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1551 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In Berlin today CPSU Politburo member Yegor Ligachev and Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo member Werner Krolikowski expressed great satisfaction with the course and results of the CPSU Central Committee delegation's visit to the GDR. Krolikowski was hosting a luncheon at the end of their 4-day visit. Krolikowski said the visit reaffirmed the firm and unshakable militant alliance between both parties and peoples. Ligachev pointed out the strenuous work of the past few days and the fruitful exchange of experiences on agricultural and alliance policies.

This morning Ligachev visited Weimar, the hometown of German classic authors. He laid wreaths at the graves of Soviet soldiers at the Weimar Belvedere Soviet war cemetery, where his brother, Dmitriy Kuzmich Ligachev, is buried. Here Ligachev paid tribute to the significance to world history of the Red Army's victory which smashed Hitler fascism. He stressed that the heritage of the dead heroes, "never again war, never again fascism," had to be fulfilled everyday. Everything had to be done to strengthen socialism and maintain peace in order not to give something as unnatural as war a chance.

During this visit members of the delegation visited food-processing plants in and around Berlin, including the Berlin dairy plant. The delegation began their journey home this afternoon.

Professor Says FRG 'Duty' Claim an Insult

LD1309082689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0542 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"The Federal Republic's 'duty to look after' GDR citizens is presumptuous and violates international law. This insults the citizens of our country, who support and develop their state as their political organization," Gerhard Riege, professor at Jena's Friedrich Schiller University, writes in this morning's NEUES DEUTSCHLAND.

Under the headline "The FRG's 'Duty to Look After' and its drive for the 1937 frontiers" he says, "It is so patently obvious that state and citizenship are indissolubly linked and that every state has its own citizenship that in general there is no arguement about it in current international law." It should be noted "that the GDR's claim to undivided respect for its citizenship stems from its existence as a sovereign member of the community of states and as a subject of international law. There is no need for agreements laid down in treaties to justify this, not even with the FRG." The issue of GDR citizenship as something independent of FRG citizenship is not open to debate. "The Federal Republic's jurisdiction ends at its frontiers, it has personal jurisdiction over its citizens. Relations between the GDR and its citizens are an internal matter for the GDR, are fashioned in accordance with the criteria of its social and legal order, and problems are solved accordingly."

NATO Posture on Arms Talks Criticized

LD1309085989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0159 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"Much remains to be done to find solutions together which correspond to the security interests of all concerned," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND writes today on the third round of conventional disarmament talks which have begun in Vienna. The paper contradicts the opinions of observers according to which "an agreement between the seven member-states of the Warsaw Pact and the 16 member-states of NATO on a radical reduction of their arms and forces in Europe is already within grasping distance." At the moment there can be no question of this.

"It is the stated goal of the talks to consolidate security and stability from the Atlantic to the Urals by substantial force reductions," as the joint mandate says, "The removal of the capability to unleash surprise attacks and start large-scale offensive actions. This requires drastic cuts on both sides in categories of weapons which are particularly suitable for offensive operations such as tanks, artillery, armored combat vehicles, aircraft, combat helicopters, and troop numbers.

"Many larger and smaller problems are still to be solved before balanced and substantial agreements can be achieved," the paper continues. For example, NATO only wants to put down upper limits for Soviet and U.S. forces abroad, but not for the alliances' total troop numbers. NATO is also striving for unilateral advantages by excluding weapons stored in depots from regional upper limits, by maintaining its numerical superiority in attack aircraft, and by putting a considerable number of light tanks to one side. There are also open questions concerning mutually acceptable definitions of, means of counting, and the verification of certain weapons systems.

The Warsaw Pact states have announced their firm will to contribute to solutions corresponding to the security interests of all concerned. The unilateral disarmament measures which are now in full swing and the restructuring of their forces in the spirit of building a stronger defensive character equally bear witness to the seriousness of their intentions. However, the achievement of radical troop reductions, about which 23 states are negotiating in Vienna, does not depend on the political will and serious efforts of just the one side."

Problems Found With Vietnamese Guest Workers

AU1809202289 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 18 Sep 89 p 12

[Unattributed report: "Plan Unfulfilled"]

[Text] The GDR has problems with its Vietnamese guest workers' will to work and produce. So far, with an average fulfillment of 120-130 percent, the Vietnamese, who number 53,000 according to official data and who were hooked many years ago by East Berlin for a rental fee of many dollars, have been regarded as highly welcome guest workers. They also readily worked in especially dirty jobs. East German managers fear that those times are now over due to the new customs regulations which drastically reduce exports of East German products. Since the Vietnamese were no longer allowed to take new radios, sewing machines, bicycles, and motorized bicycles home or were allowed to do so only by paying tariffs of up to 150 percent of the purchase price, their working morale has rapidly decreased: The fulfillment norm fell to 80-90 percent.

Fischer Receives Japanese Security Delegation

LD1309063189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1647 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN) - On Tuesday, GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer received a delegation of the Japanese Council of Security Questions, headed by its general secretary, Ichiro Suetsugu, and including Professors Masamori Sase, Fuji Kamiya, and Hiroshi Kimura [names as received] for an exchange of views on current problems in world politics and on bilateral questions.

Oskar Fischer explained the GDR's policy, which focuses on peace and disarmament, and he informed the delegation about his country's intiatives and unilateral gestures to guarantee peace and overcome military confrontation in the heart of Europe.

The process of disarmament that has been started has to press on against enduring resistance and be made irreversible. The GDR is prepared to cooperate as a trustworthy partner, using all the forces of reason and realism in the interests of guaranteeing world peace. The GDR foreign minister praised the existing state of bilateral relations and underlined that the GDR continues to be interested in deepening cooperation on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantage, and in opening up new areas for this.

The Japanese interlocuters described essential features of Japan's foreign policy, particularly in the Asia-Pacific area. They spoke out in favor of further development in the relations between the two countries.

People's Chamber Delegation Visits Ireland

AU1809162989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Sep 89 pp 1, 2

[ADN report: "People's Chamber Delegation in Irish Parliament"]

[Text] Dublin (ADN)—The GDR People's Chamber delegation, headed by Manfred Scheler, member of the People's Chamber Presidium, which is currently staying in the GDR, met with Irish Parliament President Sean Treacy in Dublin on Wednesday [13 September]. At the meeting, Manfred Scheler conveyed cordial greetings from People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, which were returned in kind. During the talk, further cooperation between the parliaments and their organs was discussed.

Previously, the GDR delegation was received by Sean Callery, state minister in the Irish Foreign Ministry. At the talk, which took place in a friendly atmosphere in the Foreign Ministry, common standpoints on questions of safeguarding peace, disarmament, and European cooperation were discussed. The increasing role of the United Nations in promoting the process of international understanding and the peaceful settlement of all problems was stressed. The interlocutors concurred that all states, regardless of their size, bear important responsibility and can make their own independent contribution. Both sides paid tribute to the positive state of cooperation between the GDR and Ireland and stressed the readiness to deepen it in an overall way for the benefit of the two peoples and states.

On the same day, the delegation held talks with leading representatives of the parties that are represented in the Irish parliament. The task of the parliaments to do everything to promote the process of international understanding and peaceful cooperation was stressed concurrently.

Opposition 'New Forum' Founders Discuss Goals

AU1409135689 Vienna Television Service in German 2000 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Interview with Baerbel Bohley, Reinhard Weisschuh, and Pastor Hans Peter Schneider, founding members of the New Forum GDR opposition group, by Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi in East Berlin—recorded]

[Text] [Moderator] The GDR newspaper JUNGE WELT writes that in the long run, no GDR citizen will be able to avoid discussion on why a minority is leaving the country. The opposition is gradually organizing itself publicly. Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi has a report from East Berlin:

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] This is the founding appeal of the New Forum, the first declared opposition movement in the GDR. The founders intend to start a democratic dialogue, a dialogue that is supposed to be free, legal, and outside the church.

[Begin recording] [Bohley] The impression has been created that everybody wants to leave the country. That is not really true, because many people want to stay and have not given up hope that the GDR will also become a country where you can live. We intend to finally start a discussion among ourselves on all sorts of problems, and we hold meetings.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] Do you see any chance that this is at all possible, that somebody in the government or party is ready for dialogue?

[Weisschuh] We will see whether that happens. This is a question that is difficult to answer at this point. The party as such has so far not been ready to hold such a dialogue. However, this party is surely not such a monolithic bloc as to be unable to think in a differentiated way. So I think that there are quite a few people within the party and among the people, who have problems and would like to formulate these problems.

[Bohley] I really see prospects for me here in the GDR, and many problems that I see in the Federal Republic do not exist here. I mean, for instance, the sense of belonging together and living together. I also mean hope; there is much more hope and much less egoism here. That is what I love about this country, and in addition, it is a beautiful country.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] What is the reaction?

[Schneider] I have received many telephone calls, and I was asked what is the New Forum, and could we work with you? We would be interested.

Group Worries Party

AU1909090989 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 16-17 Sep 89 p 4

["hrk" report: "Against a State of Cops and Spies"]

[Text] Berlin—The founding of a broad political group, which is called "New Forum" and wants to legally participate in shaping the face of a "different GDR" over the coming years, is bothering the East Berlin Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] leadership. As early as October, the various groups—also those that are not affiliated to the church—want to gather in East Berlin and agree on a common platform. DIE WELT for the first time quotes excerpts from the founding appeal: "In our country communication between the state and society is obviously impaired. Proof of this is the widespread dissatisfaction and a withdrawal into the private niche of mass emigration. In other countries refugee movements of this scope are caused by misery, hunger, and violence. In our country this is not the case.

"The impaired relationship between the state and society paralyzes the creative potentials of our society and hinders the solution of the existing local and global tasks. We are entangling ourselves in ill-humored passivity....

"In the state and society the balance of interests among the groups and strata is defective. Communication about the situation and about interests is impaired.... But the wishes and desires are very different and are not balanced rationally and examined as to whether they can be realized. On the one hand, we wish for an expansion of the range of goods and better supplies, on the other hand we see their social and ecological costs and advocate a turning away from unchecked growth.

"—We want leeway for economic initiatives, but not a degeneration into a society of elbowing.

"—We want to preserve tested things, but make room for renewal....

"—We want orderly conditions, but no patronizing.

"—We want free self-confident people, who still act with an awareness of society.

"—We want to be protected against violence, but not to have to suffer a state of cops and spies.

"—Idlers and braggarts should be removed from posts where they can apply pressure, but we do not want any disadvantages for socially weak and defenseless people.

"—We want an effective health system for everyone; but no one should be able to pretend to be sick at the cost of others.

"In order to recognize these contradictions ... we need a democratic dialogue about the tasks of the constitutional state, the economy, and of culture. We have to think about and discuss these questions publicly, together, and all over the country. Finding a way out of the current critical situation in the foreseeable future will depend on the readiness and willingness to do this ...

"Therefore, we are forming a common political platform for the entire GDR, which makes it possible for people from all professions, spheres of life, parties, and groups to participate in the discussion and tackling of vital social problems in the country.... We call on all GDR citizens who want to participate in restructuring our society to become members of the New Forum. The time is ripe."

Situation With Youth

AU1809145489 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 18 Sep 89 p 4

[Interview with Baerbel Bohley, founding member of the newly established "New Forum" movement of the GDR, by Dieter Staecker: "Deadly Boredom; Youth Without Prospects"; date and place not given]

[Text] Berlin—The "New Forum," which was founded by intellectuals and artists in East Berlin 1 week ago, wants to enhance the dialogue on social reforms in the GDR and to concern itself particularly with the situation of the young in the second German state. DIE PRESSE conducted a telephone interview with founding member Baerbel Bohley, an East Berlin painter, about the reasons for the exodus of mainly young people from the GDR.

Baerbel Bohley: Of course, it is a disaster that the young are leaving. However, it is understandable if one knows that their parents have been waiting for 40 years—always hoping for change. The young have seen this. They are leaving because they no longer believe in changes.

DIE PRESSE: Is not a certain desire for consumer goods behind their wish to emigrate?

Behley: In this country everybody lives somehow in the West after 8 p.m. when the television program starts. This applies to the young as well. They only see the positive things. If there are negative reports about the West, they simply do not listen.

DIE PRESSE: In what way do the young people protest?

Bohley: They protest by no longer showing any interest in the GDR as a political entity.

DIE PRESSE: How do the young GDR citizens protest?

Bohley: They listen to music. They visit youth clubs. But most of the time they are bored to death. There is a lot of alcoholism. The situation is very often characterized by weariness, lack of prospects, and real laziness. Nobody knows what his aims are. If somebody tries to do something, he does not reach his goal. Young people here are living in a giant sponge.

DIE PRESSE: How does the state react to this passive attitude?

Bohley: The state ignores everything. It acts as if this attitude did not exist. If one reads our papers, one might get the impression that we have the best youth in the world. The state relies on the youth. However, the state can no longer really rely on the young.

DIE PRESSE: There must have been signs that so many young people wanted to leave.

Bohley: Yes, of course. People have been leaving for many years. The reasons for this have never been analyzed, not to mention speak of being removed. This topic has only been discussed in beer taverns, never in public.

DIE PRESSE: What basic mistake did the party make?

Bohley: There is no way of identifying oneself with the country. Nobody tells you the truth, everybody tells you lies. Everybody knows that officials statements are not true. The situation makes it virtually impossible to identify oneself with the GDR.

DIE PRESSE: But you are working for the GDR....

Bohley: I have identified myself with my country in my resistance. However, only a few people arrive at this resistance. They are often very tired.

DIE PRESSE: Would you encourage young people to stay in the GDR?

Bohley: We hope that the "New Forum" represents an encouragement. Numerous young people come and tell us that they are planning to apply for emigration or to go to Hungary. Only the thought that this forum has been established keeps them here. They hope that the forum will bring about change. Otherwise they are going to pack their bags.

DIE PRESSE: Can you see a light at the end of the tunnel?

Bohley: I am a terrible optimist. I always see a candle somewhere.

Official Status Sought

LD1909091989 Hamburg DPA in German 0750 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The initiators of the opposition group "New Forum" applied on Tuesday for permission to set up their association, initially in 11 of the GDR Bezirks [areas]. This organization sees itself as an umbrella movement independent of church and state, and its supports democratic renewal in the GDR. A judge explained that according to the statute on associations, a written application is required for formal funding. The application for national registration has also been lodged in East Berlin. According to signatories of the founding appeal, in the last few days more than 1,500 GDR citizens from all levels of society have signed this appeal.

The opposition movement is not aiming at capitalism, but an improved form of socialism without authoritarian thinking and tutelage by the state. Painter and civil rights activist Baerbel Bohley stressed last week that the founding was a reaction to present conditions and to the "lack of future prospects" in the GDR. Many people were quite desperate.

Former SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] official Rolf Henrich said that many younger SED members had also signed the appeal. A meeting in the Samaritans' parish in East Berlin on Monday evening, at which Henrich spoke, was very crowded. The former jurist and SED official criticized the fact that important positions in the GDR economy and in other areas were not filled according to professional competence, but to "political good behavior." Many people who could not fit into the parish hall followed what was going on from the courtyard outside.

One of the first signatories of the founding appeal and spokesman of the Leipzig coordinating groups, Michael Arnold, was taken away by civilian security forces in the city on Monday evening "for investigation on a certain matter," it was revealed. According to information from Leipzig, there were more than 100 arrests after a service in the Nicolai Church attended by more than 1,500 people.

'Democracy Now Citizens Movement' Founded

AU1809170489 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 18 Sep 89 p 5

["Ws." report: "Third Opposition Group in the GDR"]

[Text] Eisenach—After the group "New Forum," and the initiative to reestablish the Social Democratic Party of Germany in the GDR, the "Democracy Now Citizens Movement" has claimed the floor as the third opposition group in East Berlin. An "appeal to interfere on one's own behalf" says that now socialism has to "take its proper democratic form unless it wants to be lost for history." In contrast to all the palliation, one also cannot fail to notice the political, economic, and ecological indications of a crisis of state socialism "in the colors of the GDR." However, there is no indication that the GDR leadership is prepared to change its way of thinking. It apparently speculates on the frustration of the reforms in the Soviet Union. However, the point is to participate in democratic restructuring. The wish of many people for a democratization of relations between state and society still cannot be publicly voiced in the GDR.

Among the 12 signatories to the appeal are East Berlin physicist Fischbeck and Ulrike Poppe, who is known for her activities in various grass-roots groups. The group hopes for an alliance between Christians and critical Marxists, strives for a "society of solidarity," and wants to democratize all fields of life in the GDR. At the same time, it is in this way that the socialist revolution, which reached a deadlock in nationalization, must continue and be prepared for the future.

A meeting of representatives who are to agree on a policy statement of the citizens movement and to elect spokesmen is to take place in January/February next year. The signatories to the appeal hope for the opportunity "to present their own list of candidates for the forthcoming People's Chamber elections." "Theses for democratic restructuring in the GDR" are added to the appeal as a basis for discussion. A reform of the electoral law, the transformation of the media into noncommercial public corporations, legal reform, the introduction and completge implemmentation of administrative jurisdiction are demanded, among other things. The signatories to the appeal call for the disclosure of relevant environmental data and the GDR's problems with pollution and resources, as well as a complete and nationwide supervision of the concentration of pollutants in water, air, and soil.

Citizens Protest Arrests at Demonstration

LD1609142889 Hamburg DPA in German 1347 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (DPA)—Around 30 members of GDR human rights groups arrested during a demonstration last Monday in the center of Leipzig are presumable still in custody. Well-informed circles in West Berlin announced that by today none of the mostly young people had been in contact with friends. [passage omitted]

Several GDR citizens have protested against this "renewed act of arbitrariness" in a letter and have called for the "immediate release of those arrested." The letter, which became known in West Berlin yesterday, also says: "It has once again been proven that the state apparatus is prepared and in a position to react to citizens' criticism solely with violence and without words in our country's crisis-like situation."

Leipzig Peace Prayer Participants Arrested

LD1809203189 Hamburg DPA in German 2003 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Many people were again arrested in Leipzig on Monday after the traditional peace prayer. According to informed circles in West Berlin, several dozen people are involved. Eyewitnesses reported that the people had been driven away in two trucks. Among the people detained was one of the initial signatories of the GDR-wide opposition group "New Forum," Michael Arnold.

Arnold is the spokesman of the Leipzig coordinating group. It was reported that he was led away by two civilian employees of the State Security Service as he left the church. "New Forum" intends to officially register the group throughout the GDR on Tuesday. Arnold was to do this in Leipzig.

Fifteen hundred people took part in the peace prayer. The police action of the previous week, in which around 100 people were detained, was condemned and the release of the approximately 12 people still in custody was demanded. They are being investigated for "riotous assembly" in accordance with Paragraph 217 of the GDR Penal Code. The church grounds were surrounded by policemen. According to eyewitnesses, the first detentions took place during the service.

Loeffler Discusses State-Church Relationship

AU1809183389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Sep 89 p 3

[Unattributed report on speech by Kurt Loeffler, state secretary for church affairs, at a festive event organized by the National Council of the GDR National Front in Berlin on 13 September: "The GDR Is Also the Work of Millions of Christians"]

[Text] In his concluding speech, State Secretary Kurt Loeffler paid tribute to the meeting as a convincing sign of working together honestly, of firm trust, and of the profound certainty that the correct path which has been jointly followed cannot be destroyed. The personal descriptions and the political careers of the speakers have made it clear that our homeland, GDR, has developed a society which is based on the personal contribuon of its individual members. Intensive discussion is the basis of the joint work of all citizens, regardless of their ideology and religion. This working together is the guarantee for a common path to a secure and peaceful future. The state secretary recalled the fact that this has as its basis the life-preserving solidarity which grew in the fascist prisons and in an underground existence.

Great things have been achieved in solving ever new tasks for the welfare of the people. One must say that something unique has been accomplished on German soil—a social system in which it is worth living and which is worth working for. Therefore, at the reopening of the Greifswald Cathedral on 11 June, Erich Honecker pointed out that the 40-year history of the GDR is also the result of the work of millions of Christian citizens. Working together is an urgent requirement for successfully mastering the tasks of the future, Loeffler said.

Role of Jews in GDR

AU1809160789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Sep 89 p 3

[Unattributed report on the speech by Siegmund Rotstein, president of the GDR's Jewish National Representation, at a festive event organized by the National Council of the GDR National Front in Berlin on 13 September: "In our Country Jews Are Respected and Taken Into Consideration"]

[Text] Only a few days ago thousands of people gathered in many places in our country, in Europe, and all over the world, and commemorated the incredible pain and sacrificial struggles in the times of the fascist terror regime, Siegmund Rotstein noted at the beginning. For every Jew, memory and admonition are painful elementary commands to act so something like this can never happen again and to establish guidelines for the future of our children and children's children.

On the eve of the 40th anniversary of our republic, fulfilling this duty is of the utmost importance for him, as president of the Jewish National Representation in the GDR, not only for the sake of remembrance. He affirmed that the origin and reason of the GDR's historical development, which are all too often presupposed as knowledge from a textbook, must not disappear in the fog of forgetfulness, nor must the awareness of the pride in the freedom that has been achieved.

It has to be made clear again and again: It was in particular the spirit of the anti-fascist resistance struggle, which gave rise to the existence of a socialist German state, a state in which the decisions of the Potsdam Agreement were implemented.

Siegmund Rotstein noted that from the very beginning, the Jews, through their work, helped to develop the young and new German state, a state which harbors and promotes all those progressive traditions for which many Jews had fought for generations with dedication and under great sacrifices. "Therefore, today we can state with conviction: In the GDR Jews are respected and taken into consideration. In our country a form of coexistence has developed in which fear of persecution and discrimination does not have any place." Siegmund Rotstein concluded: "Being aware that Jewish life is developing from generation to generation, we have now regained assurance and prospects for the future."

SED Rejects Dialogue

AU1909085189 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 16-17 Sep 89 p 4

["hrk." report: "SED Refuses Dialogue With GDR Church for the Time Being"]

[Text] Berlin—The leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] refuses to start the urgently requested talks with the Evangelical Church on political and social reforms in the country: According to information acquired by DIE WELT, Church State Secretary Kurt Loeffler let the Church know that its demand for reforms formulated in a letter to Erich Honecker had been received and the SED leadership had "taken note of" it. However, the church should prepare itself for the fact that the desired roundtable meeting will not take place "before the next elections" (—People's Chamber elections in summer 1990—the editors).

The Catholic bishops also want to turn to the SED leadership because of the mass exodus of GDR citizens. In East Berlin church circles it is stated that the Berlin Bishops Conference, the supreme body of the Catholic Church in the GDR, is striving for talks with the responsible SED officials similar to those desired by the Evangelical Christians.

According to a KNA report, the records of the latest plenary assembly of the Catholic GDR bishops say that the bishops are "determined to address these problems and their causes in talks with state authorities." The body has ascertained that "too many people want to leave the GDR, while others, out of resignation, are increasingly withdrawing into private spheres." A rather critical comment by new Berlin Bishop Georg Sterzinsky on the emigrants caused many indignant West Berlin Catholics to call the diocesan authorities. Sterzinsky had asked whether these people are not seeking the "easier way."

General Kessler Says SED Path Unchanged

LD1409150689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1346 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] will not allow itself to be diverted from the proven course of "everything with the people, everything through the people, and everything for the people" by the opponents of peace and disarmament, the champions of capitalist exploitation and neocolonialist oppression. It was defending resolutely the positions of socialism and democracy, solidarity with the peoples of the Third World, stated Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and minister of national defense, on Thursday during a visit to the "Vladimir Komarov" fighter squadron of the air forces/air defense of the NVA [National People's Army].

Minister Kessler thanked the members of the squadron for their efforts in fulfilling the class mission set by the Ninth SED Congress. Similar to the working people, they were thereby making an honorable contribution to the all-sided strengthening of the socialist German state and to securing peace. This was the best and most effective answer to the thick and fast incitement against the GDR by revanchist and neofascist forces.

Kessler Addresses Reservists on Anniversary

LD1309151489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1318 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—"There are periods in society's life when the great responsibility we bear toward history emerges more clearly than ever. We are experiencing such a period now," said GDR Defense Ministery Army General Heinz Kessler, Socialist Party of Germany [SED] Politburo member, today in a lecture to National People's Army reservists in Bautzen (Dresden Bezirk [area]).

In his remarks he recalled the anniversaries of the start of the two devastating world wars, which were unleashed and inevitably lost by the ruling circles of imperialist Germany. The suffering and losses were, however, always borne by the working people. August 1914 and September 1939 were a strong admonishment of the historical obligation borne by the state and peoples and each individual to ensure that these events will never be repeated.

The forthcoming GDR anniversary is an occasion to look back on the difficult beginning. The country which was extensively destroyed by Hitler's war has today, thanks to the diligent labor of the working people under the SED leadership, become one of the most important industrial states in the world and was regarded highly throughout the world for its peace policy, its economic and scientific performance, its cultural achievements and the socially secure conditions of its population.

The rulers of the FRG and other NATO countries could not get over the fact that a successfully developing socialist state had existed on German soil for 4 decades. In this context the speaker pointed to the policy of arms and the military strategy of "nuclear deterrence" to which NATO continued to cling. In spite of the unprecedented prior concessions on disarmament by the Warsaw Treaty states, NATO did not renounced any of its armament programs valid until the mid-1990's. Thus, the FRG's budget for 1990 envisions a rise in defense expenditure of 3.3 percent from DM52.7 billion to 54.4 billion. It is the logic of the international class struggle that the Springer press and the other imperialist mass media express cynical joy at everything which damages socialism. Their open annoyance at everything which contributes to the stability and prestige of socialism explains the furious attacks and abuse by these people on the GDR and its leadership.

In view of this, Army General Kessler stressed, the initiatives by the socialist states on detente and disarmament as well as reductions in forces and defense spending will contiue to go hand in hand with efforts for national defense and maintaining defense readiness at the necesasry level. Socialist military doctrine has only one aim, preventing any war, be it conventional or nuclear, under any circumstances. On the way to the 12th SED Congress it is a matter of presenting to citizens the deeply humanistic spirit of the SED's policy and the great significance of the general strengthening of the socialist German state for securing peace, more convincingly still, as well as consolidating their bond, which was characterized by socialist patriotism, with their fatherland, the GDR.

Economic Statistics for August Released

AU1209183889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Aug 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Great Achievements in August To Prepare the 40th Anniversary of the GDR"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—According to preliminary statistical data, the produced national income increased 4 percent in August as a result of industrious work by the working people in the fields of industry, agriculture, transportation, communications, trade, and other sectors of the national economy. The construction of 17,431 apartments was concluded. Retail turnover increased 4 percent. The growth in industrial goods amounted to 6.1 percent. The population's personal disposal income increased 3 percent. The GDR's foreign trade continued to achieve an export surplus.

Industrial goods production increased 4.4 percent. Net production increased 6 percent and labor productivity 6.1 percent. The costs per M100 of goods production were reduced 1 percent.

In the implementation of the economic strategy of the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], the high speed in the sector of key technologies was maintained. In August, the working people of the Erfurt Microelectronics Combine presented the first samples of a new generation of 32-bit microprocessors to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council. By the end of August, 42,057 office, personal, and workplace computers had been produced, that is, 5,041 more than last year. The increase in computer printers amounted to 25,143 units. The production of monolithically integrated circuits was increased 39 percent.

In August 11 facilities from the state plan on investments were put into operation. This includes facilities for the production of boys' trousers in the Oschersleben Children's Wear State Enterprise [VEB], wall tiles in the VEB "Kurt Buerger" Tile Works, Boizenburg; electrode coke in the VEB "Otto Grotewohl," Boehlen; and a waterpower plant in the VEB Water Supply and Waste Water Treatment, Berlin.

Net production in the construction sector increased 4.5 percent; labor productivity increased 5.4 percent. The housing construction plan has been fulfilled in all bezirks. In the kreises of the City of Rostock, Meiningen, the City of Potsdam, Schmalkalden, and Eberswalde, shortfalls in the construction of new apartments have to be made up.

In the 40th year of the GDR, cooperative peasants and agricultural workers harvested almost 11 million tonnes of corn. The average yield per hectare amounts to 43.8 decitonnes. The plan for the state procurement of slaughter animals, milk, and eggs had been fulfilled by August.

The national economy's transportation requirements for supplies to the population and for foreign trade shipments were completely fulfilled. There were hold-ups in the railroad traffic because of extremely high temperatures in August. Inland navigation was restricted by the low water level.

In the initiative "Return Funds to the State—Contribute to National Income" combines from industry, the construction, and the transportation sectors and bezirk councils had returned energy sources, raw materials, as well as material stocks and finances valued at M1.1 billion to the state by the end of August.

In the individual sectors of industry the following growth in net production and labor productivity, and the following reduction in prime costs per M100 of goods production had been achieved by the end of August:

	Net production	Labor Productivity	Reduction in prime costs
		— in percent—	
Coal and energy	4.7	4.3	0.6
Ore mining, metallurgical industry, and potash	1.4	1.7	0.4
Chemical industry	5.7	6.1	0.6
Electrical Engineering, electronics	12.6	12.4	3.0
Heavy machinery and installation construction	3.1	4.8	0.3
Machine tools and processing machinery construction	7.5	8.6	1.4
General machinery, agricultural machinery, and vehicle construction	3.9	3.7	0.2
Light industry	7.0	6.8	0.6
Glass and ceramics industry	1.5	2.5	0.4
Bezirk-administered industry and foodstuffs industry	6.3	6.9	0.9

Within the bezirk-administered industry the following development per working day in the growth of net production and the production of manufactured goods for the population, and the following reduction in prime costs per M100 of goods production had been achieved:

	Net production	Manufactured goods for the population	Reduction in prime costs
		—in percent—	
Capital city of Berlin	7.8	2.8	2.0
Cottbus	7.9	7.5	1.4
Dresden	6.4	2.6	1.5
Erfurt	8.0	3.9	0.7
Frankfurt	6.6	11.0	2.2
Gera	7.7	6.9	1.7
Halle	4.2	4.4	1.1
Karl-Marx-Stadt	5.1	4.6	1.2
Leipzig	3.6	4.1	0.2
Magdeburg	10.2	6.9	1.5
Neubrandenburg	7.9	2.5	1.2
Potsdam	9.9	5.0	1.6
Rostock	7.3	4.4	1.1
Schwerin	8.1	6.5	1.0
Suhl	8.2	3.6	1.7

Speaker Szuros Leads Delegation to U.S.

LD1609161189 Budapest MTI in English 1534 GMT 16 Sep 89

New York, September 16 (MTI)—On Friday, the first working day in the USA of the delegation headed by Matyas Szuros, speaker of the Hungarian parliament, the visitors met with a group of American businessmen and leading public figures in New York, over a working breakfast. Peter Rona, president of the Schroeder Bank, welcomed the delegation. Discussions were focused on the Hungarian economic situation, with the Americans expressing interest in utilising Hungarian opportunities, but also their awareness of the present uncertain conditions.

Subsequently, the delegation visited the New York stock exchange, and were later met by former foreign minister Henry Kissinger. A briefing on the Hungarian situation and plans ahead was given at the lunch of the foreign affairs council by Mr Szuros.

A meeting was also held between Mr Szuros and UN General Secretary, Javier Perez de Cuellar. The agenda of discussions included the issue of the refugees arriving from the GDR and Romania. The view was shared that any relevant measures taken should be in conformity with the accord on universal civil and political rights.

In the evening, a reception was given in honour of the delegation by Gyorgy Banlaki, Hungarian chief consul in New York.

Szuros Comments on Trip

LD1709105689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Text] [Presenter] Matyas Szuros, summing up the experiences of his United States trip so far, has said that he has found lively interest and sympathy toward Hungary. According to the president of the National Assembly, among the American people a favorable reaction has met the decision which the Hungarian Government took on the GDR refugees.

Matyas Szuros, who is in the United States at the head of a parliamentary delegation, also said that in economic issues U.S. businessmen for the time being take a stance of biding time.

Yesterday the delegation visited one of the centers of American Ma [name indistinct], where it took part in the session of the executive council of the American Magyar Association.

Before representatives of American Magyardom, Matyas Szuros spoke about the relationship with Romania and also about why, contrary to the original plans, the Romanian president's brother, Ilie Ceausescu, deputy defense minister, did not visit Budapest:

[Begin Szuros recording] Ilie Ceausescu is an undesirable person in Hungary. He was the one who wrote that book saying that Transylvania is an ancient Romanian land, and he qualified the Hungarian nation and Hungary with every kind of vulgar [utszeli] epithet. For example, he described it as an aggressor, on the pretext of the Republic of Councils. Whereas, in fact, it was the Romanians who marched into Budapest, and it did not happen the other way around.

We, of course, must foster contacts, even with the Romanians, in some form, but not with everybody, those who make such statements about Hungary, about Hungarians. To say nothing of the fact that in recent times indeed certain covert insinuations have been voiced, even of a military nature, destined for Hungary. (?We spoke about) this earlier, when Ceausescu himself made the statement that Romanian industry is capable of producing everything, even nuclear weapons. And if he says this once, then of course nobody pays (?particular) attention. But when he repeats it, by then of course one must pay attention to it, to see what he wants to say by this. Well, let them not threaten us.

Romanian policy is fairly incalculable, and is capable of many things. Their pronouncements and their attitude must definitely be analyzed and evaluated. [end recording]

Horvath, U.S. Commerce Secretary Hold Talks

LD1809173489 Budapest MTI in English 1621 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 18 (MTI)—Robert Mosbacher, U.S. secretary of commerce, met with Minister of Industry Ferenc Horvath on Monday. Mr Horvath told MTI that in the course of the meeting, he raised that the Hungarian side would like that the country be differentiated in Cocom export permits. The Hungarian side would guarantee that products reaching Hungary are utilized only for the goals allowed by the American partners. The American side could verify this. A facilitation of this kind would promote imports of modern technology for Hungarian industry, and American entrepreneurs could also deliver more easily to their Hungarian partners. The U.S. secretary of commerce, however, firmly said that he sees no possibilities for the proposed Cocom facilitations, and continues to hold individual permits to be justified. Mr Moshbacher did, however, promise they would speed up the procedure with various customs facilitations.

Trade Shortfalls, Surplus With USSR Noted

LD1509130989 Budapest MTI in English 1224 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 15, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—In the first seven months of this year Hungary made a balance of payments surplus of 567.4 million roubles with the Soviet Union. At the end of August the Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth asked his colleague Nikolay Ryzhkov to ensure the making up of the Soviet suppliers delivery arrears of this year. In the first seven months of last year Hungary had a balance of payments surplus of 158.8 million roubles, which increased to 178.9 million by the end of the year.

The Soviet Union is behind schedule in delivering 70 million roubles worth of coal, coking coal, cars, industrial petrol, electricity, timber, cellulose and iron ore. No contracts have been made for 300 million roubles worth of soviet exports items stipulated in the bilateral trade protocol, since Hungarian companies simply do not need 100 million roubles worth of the articles the Soviet Union can offer, and 200 million roubles worth are missing from the Soviet export market.

However, in a statement to the economic weekly "HETI VILAGGAZDASAG" Mr Eduard Kosobuko, deputy head of the Soviet commercial representation in Budapest, produced figures for Soviet delivery shortages that differ from Hungarian Trade Ministry figures. He said Soviet coal deliveries were only 4 per cent behind the annual schedule, and coke deliveries actually surpassed the targeted amount. However, he admitted that industrial petrol supplies were 28,000 tonnes behind schedule and the backlog was to increase by another 16,000 tonnes in September, the current arrears of 9,000 tonnes of car fuel were to grow to 13,000 tonnes in that time. The Hungarian side claims car fuel supplies to be 36,000 tonnes behind schedule.

Mr Kosobuko acknowledged the absence of 500 Lada Samaras from Soviet exports to Hungary, as against Hungary's complaint of 1,650 cars, but promised additional deliveries, which he did not in the case of timber and iron ore, blaming the shortfall on the lack of railway cars.

Mr Kosoburk said Hungary was at least as much behind schedule in delivering certain goods to the USSR, for example, upper garments, worth 20 million roubles, knitwear, 10 million, and leatherware 6 million, as well as 9,000 tonnes of chicken.

Further on Restoration of Ties With Israel

Nemeth Receives Arens

LD1809173889 Budapest MTI in English
1403 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 18 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met in parliament Moshe Arens, Israeli minister of foreign affairs, who arrived on an official visit to Budapest Monday morning.

Further on News Conference

LD1809183489 Budapest MTI in English
1639 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 18 (MTI)—Following the signing of documents which restore Hungarian-Israeli diplomatic relations, Foreign Ministers Moshe Arens of Israel and Gyula Horn of Hungary held a press conference in Budapest.

In his statement to the press, Mr Horn stressed: The restoration of diplomatic relations is an example of the new way of thinking which is gaining ground not only in the policy of the Hungarian Government, but also in international life. Mr Horn stressed there are, and can be differences in views between the official policies of the two countries, but reaction to these should be to create, the possibility of dialogue, rather than confrontation. He expressed his conviction that Hungarian-Israeli dialogue serves not only the cause of international peace, but the settlement of the problems of the Middle East region as well. The agreement signed today is not aimed against any single country. The Hungarian People's Republic continues to wish to foster good relations with the Arab states and with all sides concerned, to solve the problems of the region, Mr Horn stressed. In conclusion, he assured Mr Arens that the Hungarian Government and the Foreign Ministry would do everything to build and intensify Hungarian-Israeli relations.

In his reply statement, Mr Arens termed the now signed documents to be of historical importance. He said the Hungarian decision on the restoration of diplomatic relations is evaluated in Israel as a manifestation of the courage that characterizes the current Hungarian leadership. Israel also highly appreciates the attention which Hungary shows for the Middle East peace process. The restoration of Hungarian-Israeli diplomatic relations contributes to the cause of Middle East peace, Mr Arens said. He voiced his hope that the agreement signed today will make it possible for the two countries to exchange technology, and to create reciprocally advantageous cooperation.

Arens Departs

LD1809212189 Budapest MTI in English
1908 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 18 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens on Monday afternoon, in parliament building.

Concluding his visit to Hungary, Mr Arens left Budapest Monday afternoon.

Arabs Informed on Tie Restoration

LD1809211889 Budapest MTI in English
1936 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 18 (MTI)—An international press conference was held on Monday on the restoration of Hungarian- Israeli diplomatic relations, and the Budapest talks of Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens. In his introduction, Laszlo Kovacs, Hungarian secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry, reiterated the thoughts set forth by Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn at the press conference held after the documents were signed.

Answering questions, Mr Kovacs said that Hungary informed, and continues to inform the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty member states about the intention of its diplomatic steps. In this case, the Hungarian Government did not hold preliminary consultations with its allies, but informed them about the step directly before the restoration of diplomatic relations.

Mr Kovacs also said that the Arab diplomats in Budapest, including those of the Palestinian state, were informed in advance on the restoration of Hungarian-Israeli diplomatic relations, and there were no reactions that condemned the step in the course of the consultation. Three diplomats, including the Palestinian, said they understand the reasons for the Hungarian Government's decision. The Hungarian leadership is confident that the Arab countries will understand its decision, as this is by no means aimed against them, but can help to promote the Middle East settlement.

The state secretary also announced that a high-level Hungarian- Israeli meeting will be held this year, in Israel.

Libyan Protest Over Ties Noted

LD1909110489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] The resumption of Hungarian-Israeli diplomatic relations cannot have taken the Arab countries by surprise because they received a briefing about this earlier. This was stated by Deputy Foreign Minister Jozsef Benyi in an interview with MAGYAR NEMZET.

In spite of this, our country's Tripoli ambassador has been summoned to the Libyan Foreign Ministry, where they expressed their consternation [megdoebbenes] over the renewal of Hungarian-Israeli diplomatic relations.

CSSR Pressuring for Forint-Koruna Rate Change

LD1509213689 Budapest MTI in English 1955 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Prague, September 15 (MTI)—According to all indications, by issuing petrol coupons for Hungarian tourists at disproportionately high prices, the Czechoslovak Government wishes to exert pressure on Hungary to modify the forint rate of the koruna. (From next Monday, Hungarian tourists may buy petrol for coupons and pay 14 or 15 korunas for a litre.)

On Friday, Frantisek Pavelka, federal deputy finance minister, told the Prague correspondent of MTI that the Czechoslovak authorities started out from the unrealistic official rate of the koruna and forint. According to the Czechoslovak standpoint, the Hungarian currency is "overvalued without any cause".

Mr Pavelka admitted that, for Hungarians, petrol prices would be 17 per cent higher in Czechoslovakia than in Hungary.

Mr Pavelka announced that he told Imre Tompe, Hungarian deputy finance minister, on Thursday that Czechoslovakia would eliminate the coupon system if Hungary were prepared to modify the exchange rate of the two currencies.

CSSR Gas Coupon Price High

LD1809172389 Budapest MTI in English 1415 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 18, 1989 (MTI-econews)—Czechoslovakia is trying to exert pressure on Budapest through an extremely high petrol coupon price introduced for Hungarian tourists in Czechoslovakia on Monday. The measure is aimed at a change in the forint-crown exchange rate.

Frantisek Pavelka, Czechoslovak deputy minister of finance said in a statement to the MTI-correspondent in Prague that the forint-crown rate is basically unreal, since the forint is unreasonably overvalued against the Czechoslovak crown.

One crown buys 2.22 forints at the present rate.

Czechoslovakia will terminate the coupon system as soon as Hungary agrees to devalue the forint, Mr Pavelka said.

From today, Hungarian tourists will be entitled to buy the 8- or 9-crown petrol for coupons, which makes petrol cost them 14 or 15 crowns to the litre, 17 per cent more than in Hungary.

Observers say Hungary is not interested in forint devaluation against the crown, since the tourism balance shows a Hungarian surplus. In the first seven months of the year, Hungarians spent 1.21 billion forints in Czechoslovakia and Czechoslovaks spent 1.875 billion forints in Hungary.

At the same time, in the first 8 months of the year, Hungarian exports to Czechoslovakia amounted to 657 million rbls, and imports 569 million rbls.

Hungary is making efforts to cut its surplus in trade with the Comecon countries.

In the first seven months, the current account surplus in roubles was 865.1 million rbls, a dramatic increase over the corresponding figure of 233.8 million rbls in the first seven months last year.

MSZMP's Vastagh Receives SFRY's Racan

LD1509212189 Budapest MTI in English 1921 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 15 (MTI)—Pal Vastagh, member of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers

Party] Political Executive Committee, held talks with Ivica Racsan, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), in Szeged on Friday. Mr Racan visited Hungary at the invitation of the HSWP Central Committee. The talks were attended by Imre Szokai, deputy head of department at the HSWP CC, Sandor Gyorke, Hungarian ambassador to Yugoslavia, Ljubinka Mitrovic, deputy head of department at the LCY Central Committee, and Rudolf Sova, Yugoslav ambassador to Hungary.

Grosz, UK's Heseltine Discuss Relations

LD1509175489 Budapest MTI in English
1401 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 15 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] general secretary, has met Michael Heseltine, British MP [Member of Parliament] and an influential personality of the Conservative Party. Mr Heseltine inquired about the international situation of Hungary, the development of Hungarian-Soviet relations and the changes in the conditions of Hungary's external economic relations, including the modified possibilities of investment capital. The sides discussed the topical issues of Hungarian-British relations and the forms of British contribution to the Hungarian reform process.

Grosz Receives New UK Ambassador Birch

LD1509174989 Budapest MTI in English
1349 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 15 (MTI)—On Friday, Karoly Grosz, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, (HSWP) general secretary, met in an introductory visit John Allan Birch, incoming ambassador extraordinary and plenpotentiary of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to Hungary.

FRG To Give DM500 Million Loan to Hungary

AU1809161289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "DM500 Million Loan from FRG to Hungary"]

[Text] Munich (ADN)—Hungary will receive a DM500-million loan from the FRG. According to DPA, a spokesman of the Bavarian Landesbank stated in Munich that a corresponding contract is ready for signature. It is intended to secure half of the total loan by FRG state securities.

World Bank Report Notes 'Crucial' Stage

LD1809142289 Budapest MTI in English
1120 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Washington, September 18 (MTI)—The implementation of economic reforms is crucial for Hungary's medium and long-term economic prospects, says the World Bank's annual report issued in Washington on Sunday. The document refers to the programme of stabilization and restructuring launched in 1988 to reduce the national debt, improve the financial balance and carry out a price and wage reform.

In the fiscal year ending in June the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund supported the scheme which, according to the report, yielded "mixed results".

The gross national product did not increase as planned but remained stable. Hard-currency exports rose by 9 percent and the foreign trade balance showed a surplus of 615 million dollars. However, the balance of payments deficit fell 100 million dollars short of target. The budget deficit was also more than planned, mainly because of failure to cut company subsidies as required. The country's external and internal balance continued to deteriorate in the first half of 1989.

In the last fiscal year the World Bank granted Hungary 345 million dollars of loan for industrial restructuring and the modernization of transport and the energy pattern.

"Hungary is now entering a stage of great responsibility for the economic decision-maker," Wilfried Thalwitz, World Bank vice-president for Eastern Europe, said to MTI's correspondent. Mr Thalwitz pointed out that the tension which accompanies economic restructuring, and the rise in state expenditure and inflation have an effect on the balance of payments and could influence creditors' approach. Although the situation cannot yet be called crucial, budget deficit and rising expenditure are a cause of anxiety to banks.

The financier drew attention to the fact that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund will only provide continuous support for countries switching over from a planned economy to a market economy if they prepare complex restructuring plans, run independent and managed issuing banks, and rely on the commercial banks to promote changes.

The World Bank recognizes the extraordinary difficulties facing such countries, because the closure of loss-making plants, unemployment, the price rises caused by subsidy cuts and inflation may also incur grave political consequences. However, it is indispensable to adopt the necessary economic measures, Mr Thalwitz said.

Bank President Cited on EC, ECU-Bond Issue

LD1809150289 Budapest MTI in English
1301 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 18, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Hungary intends to establish direct contacts with the EC and its monetary system, and the first ECU-bond [European Currency Unit] issue is a symbol of Hungary's approach, Dr Ferenc Bartha, president of the National Bank of Hungary (NBH), told MTI in

Brussels, after he signed an agreement with senior officials of Kredietbank S.A. of Luxembourg and 20 other subscribing banks on Hungary's first ECU-bond issue.

With the 75 million-issue, NBH aims to finance interests on former loans and to build up international reserves, Dr Bartha said.

Hungary expects help from the G-24 including access to loans by financial institutions of the EC. For example, Hungary would like to become entitled to European Investment Bank credits, he added.

Dr Bartha said EC experts are trying to find ways of meeting at least some of the Hungarian wishes.

All this is only in the stage of planning at present, and we would like to see that a programme is worked out by the end of this year at the latest, Dr Bartha said.

As to whether he believed the commercial and economic agreement concluded with the European Community last year was advantageous for Hungary, Dr Bartha pointed out that, although at the time of its conclusion it was beneficial, the agreement was no more consistent with today's requirements.

"We urge that Hungary be no longer treated as a 'state-trading country' and quantitative restrictions be lifted over a year's time instead of the six years stipulated by the agreement. We would also like to see better access for Hungarian agricultural products to the EC-market, and, if we manage to carry out our medium-term plans for restructuring of Hungary's economy by 1992, to conclude a mutually- advantageous free trade agreement", Dr Bartha said.

The Central Bank president said he believed it will be possible to make the forint partially, and then fully convertible between 1992 and 1995.

Fejti Leaves for Genoa on PCI Invitation

*LD1409210189 Budapest MTI in English
1520 GMT 14 Sep 89*

[Text] Budapest, September 14 (MTI)—Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, left for Genoa on Thursday, at the invitation of the Italian Communist Party. Mr Fejti is to attend the festival of the Italian Communist Party's daily, "L'UNITA".

Joint Trade Committee With Turkey Holds Talks

*LD1509213289 Budapest MTI in English
1929 GMT 15 Sep 89*

[Text] Ankara, September 15 (MTI)—The Hungarian-Turkish Joint Committee for Commercial and Economic Cooperation met in session in Ankara from September 13 to 15. The sides agreed soon to launch talks on agreements on eliminating double taxation, and on investment protection.

Imre Dunai, State Secretary of Trade and the Hungarian head of the joint committee, met Saffet Sert, Minister of State, Fahrettin Kurt, Minister of Energy and Natural Resources, Kemal Kilic, State Secretary of Finance and Foreign Trade, and Ismail Bilir, Acting State Secretary of Agriculture.

The sides discussed the Hungarian and Turkish measures aimed at market liberalization. It was considered there are opportunities for Hungary in the construction of power plants, the extension of public transport, the manufacture of medical equipment and the development of agriculture, and for Turkish entrepreneurs in the development of tourism and the infrastructure, and in construction projects.

The bilateral trade turnover increased from 70 million dollars in 1986 to 140 million dollars by 1988. Last year, the value of Hungarian exports surpassed 100 million dollars.

Minister Karpati Leads Delegation to India

*LD1709173989 Budapest MTI in English
1554 GMT 17 Sep 89*

[Text] Budapest, September 17 (MTI)—Heading a Hungarian military delegation, Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, left for Delhi on Sunday for an official friendly visit, at the invitation of the Indian Minister of Defence Krishna Chandra Pant.

Arrives in New Delhi

*LD1809143889 Budapest MTI in English
1227 GMT 18 Sep 89*

[Text] New Delhi, September 18 (MTI)—Heading a military delegation, Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, Hungarian minister of defence, arrived in New Delhi on Monday.

The delegation was welcomed at Indira Gandhi airport by Krishna Chandra Pant, Indian minister of defence, the commanders-in-chief of the three military forces and senior officials of the Indian Army and Foreign Ministry.

Nyers, Karpati Attend Army Party Conference

Interviewed on Military Cuts

*LD1609205889 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 16 Sep 89*

[Text] Most Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] members in the People's Army know that by the end of next year, their base organizations must leave the army. They, however, wish to continue to participate in working out the Armed Forces reform, which would amount to staff reductions and a strengthening of the defensive character. Our correspondent asked Reszo Nyers and the head of the Ministry of Defense [Ferenc

Karpati], who attended the conference of party secretaries in the People's Army, about this and about the recently proposed 50 km security zone:

[*Begin recording*] [Correspondent] Why has the MSZMP taken over the initiative in this military policy sphere?

[Nyers] We took it over because we regard it as a policy issue of the first order. Such aspects of security policy spring forth from the political forces.

[Correspondent] How and when can this plan be implemented?

[Karpati] This is a further step forward in the spirit of the Stockholm confidence-building measures.

[Correspondent] Technically, if it just depended on us, could this plan be quickly implemented?

[Karpati] We are ready to implement it within a quite short time.

[Correspondent] In the course of the Armed Forces' reform, what kind of cooperation between MSZMP and the People's Army is considered to be necessary?

[Nyers] The MSZMP is working out a military policy concept, and this must also have military reality. Then, it will propose it to the government. Thus, this is the MSZMP's function, and along government lines it is necessary to conduct the clarificatory debates connected with this, and to adopt a decision.

[Karpati] Every party in the world must have a military policy, a defense policy [words indistinct].

[Correspondent] Thus, is this policy authoritative?

[Karpati] Naturally. Parliament also has very great say, as well, and we are extremely pleased at this, that the decisions of parliament, of the government, are asserted. [end recording]

Address Army Party Meeting

LD1609221189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] The number of those who have asked to be admitted into the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] in the Hungarian People's Army has declined to a fraction of what it once was. At the same time, more and more people are leaving. This was reported by Lieutenant General Bela Gyorgyi, first secretary of the party committee, at the people's army party conference. He added that the majority of party members take cognizance that party organizations cannot operate in the military. According to Bela Gyorgyi many people are concerned that the country might become ungovernable; yet the avoidance of such a condition cannot be a military task.

Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defense, said that the [MSZMP] organizations gradually must leave the army. Rezso Nyers, president of the MSZMP, was also given leave to speak at the people's army party conference. He said that the party's leadership is now struggling with a certain confusion. The characteristics of this are that they are occasionally flustered and the fact that individual leaders assess the situation that has developed in different ways.

Further on Army Conference

LD1709161789 Budapest MTI in English 1524 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 17 (MTI)—The HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] held its army conference in Budapest, on Saturday. In his speech Lieutenant General Bela Gyorgyi, first secretary of the army's party committee spoke about the significant influence in the army's party caused by the fundamental changes taking place in society. Commanders are no longer required to give an account at party forums, while the scope of authority of party organs in the army has been abolished.

Mr Gyorgyi also mentioned that owing to disappointment and the rejection of certain elements of the HSWP's policy, it is presently only a fraction of the numbers applying for party membership than previously. On the other hand, there is a marked rise in the number of party-leavers, although not at the quick pace noted in civilian life.

The army's party members share a relatively similar view on international issues, but there are differing opinions on home issues, and criticism is voiced on the situation and the policy of the HSWP.

Heightening social tensions also call for concern, and confused political processes, the functional disorders of the state accompanied by the possibility of the economy's bankruptcy, create blighted prospects and an ungovernable situation. However it cannot be a military task to avoid or prevent this. The army does not wish to enter politics in this sense. Although demand for the depolitisation of the army caused uncertainty among the army's party members, continued Mr Gyorgyi, the majority of the membership noted that the HSWP organs may not operate at military bases.

In his address, Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence emphasized that the army belongs to the nation, and it is in its fundamental interest that changes taking place in society must take place in peaceful circumstances through political means. The army cannot be commandeered against the people or to interfere in other countries' internal affairs.

Hungarian soldiers must carry out tasks passed by the government and parliament.

The minister elaborated on the reform process also notable in the army, although in its initial stage. This is in close relation to the results of detente in Europe, but the army leadership is resolute in the achievement of a modern military doctrine, so far as the country's economic situation permits.

The conference was also addressed by Rezso Nyers, president of the HSWP, who spoke about the HSWP's defence concepts, founding on the principle of mutual security. The HSWP advocates a national defence doctrine, taking an active role within the Warsaw Treaty. In line with the country's political, economic possibilities, an army of fewer staff but equipped with modern armament and training should be created, Mr Nyers concluded.

* Impasse in MSZMP-Opposition Talks Explained

25000456 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 6 Sep 89 p 3

[Interview with Victor Orban, FIDESZ Board member, by Zoltan Lovas: "Opposition Analysis of MSZMP; Victor Orban Says Pozsgay Should Renounce His Candidacy for the Office of the President of the Republic"; date and place not given]

[Text] The National Roundtable discussion that broke up late Monday evening will resume today in Parliament. Victor Orban, FIDESZ [Association of Democratic Youth] board member, will act as spokesman. It is worth becoming acquainted with his views of the roundtable and his analysis of the negotiating party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], especially because, according to Orban, the actual processes have thus far not been publicized. And without publicity, readers and citizens cannot be aware of what is happening and what could happen in the future. "The fact that I can state my opinion into a reporter's tape recorder, and my views will indeed appear in MAGYAR HIRLAP, may provide the guarantee for publicity." So here it is.... Do not blame us for it.

[Orban] Mid-level negotiations at the National Roundtable took place amid new circumstances. Last Friday's session of the MSZMP Central Committee [CC] made a fundamental change on the most pivotal issue: the mannner in which the MSZMP is willing to depart from the workplace. They changed the proposal advanced a few days before by the MSZMP delegation at the negotiations. The MSZMP negotiators came to last Monday's roundtable session with a new, changed proposal.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] The MSZMP does not want to depart from the workplace.

[Orban] Yes, that's it. And this is a pivotal issue, because earlier it seemed that there was a basic agreement on this issue between the Opposition Roundtable and the MSZMP. Before, the MSZMP did not argue over its departure from the workplace; in fact it agreed on this move. At the same time, the MSZMP requested the Opposition Roundtable's understanding that the technical implementation of such a departure takes time. According to the MSZMP, the departure can be accomplished only step-by-step, depending on the kind of workplace involved. At Monday's National Roundtable mid-level meeting, the Opposition Roundtable introduced its position on last week's proposal advanced by Pozsgay. According to that statement, the Opposition Roundtable agreed to the immediate removal of the party from the judiciary. However, we did not urge that the MSZMP remove itself from other workplaces in late June 1990. We proposed instead that the removal take place 90 days prior to the coming elections. The situation is obvious. On the one hand, the MSZMP is present at the workplace with its workplace organizations, which have gained roots over the course of 40 years. On the other hand, the Opposition is not present in the workplace, and in fact it has reservations about the principle of organizing at the workplace. It is apparent, then, that this situation will not yield equal opportunity in the elections. It is for this reason that the Opposition Roundtable wants to link the removal of the party from the workplace to the call for elections.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] This is obvious. But what is the situation with the MSZMP's departure from the Ministry of the Interior and the Army by late next year?

[Orban] The Opposition Roundtable will simply not declare a position on this issue. The late 1990 deadline for departure is not within the scope of National Roundtable negotiations, because we believe that these negotiations pertain merely to the preparation for free elections. And we would not want to tie the hands of the new freely elected legislature by reaching agreements whose impact would transcend into the post-election period. Accordingly, if the MSZMP says that it it unable to remove itself from its positions in the Ministry of the Interior and the Army before late next year, we will take that into consideration, because we recognize that an immediate departure from those positions would cause difficulties for the MSZMP. If the MSZMP would agree to remove itself from other workplaces 90 days prior to the elections, than we could compromise and accept late next year as the deadline for removing the party from the Army and the police. This is how our proposals are related. The Opposition Roundtable has never surrendered its theoretical position that the party organizations should be discontinued at every workplace.

Breaking Points

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] In contrast, last Monday the MSZMP delegation came up with an entirely new proposal.

[Orban] Yes, and they said that they do not accept, even in principle, the idea that they should remove themselves from the workplace. In their view, the way to establish equal opportunity in the elections would be for the rest of the parties to move into the workplace along with the MSZMP, if they want to. Thus, an unresolvable conflict has evolved between the MSZMP and the Opposition.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Could this be a breaking point?

[Orban] This means that we are unable to reach an agreement on this issue. Two diametrically opposed positions have evolved, and no compromise can be reached. Either one or the other must be accepted.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Is the institutional system of the president of the republic also a point of tension, and if so, why?

[Orban] Last week the Opposition Roundtable proposed that the institution of the president of the republic be established, and that it be provided for in the constitution. At the same time, however, we would not select a president of the republic. That would happen later, by choice of the new parliament. The Opposition Roundtable's position is based on the idea that since there is no president of the republic, consistent with Law No 1 of 1946, the president of the National Assembly should perform this function as a substitute, in lieu of the Presidential Council. Let the new parliament decide thereafter what kind of president of the republic it wants. In contrast, according to their proposal of last Monday, the MSZMP believes that there is a need for a president of the republic with broad powers, but the president of the republic should not be elected by Parliament. Instead he should be elected directly by the people, before the elections. For reasons of principle, the Opposition Roundtable does not agree with this. If we were to elect a president of the republic at this point, in any manner, we would either place him above or subordinate him to the National Assembly. This conflicts with the idea that we should not do anything prior to the elections that could fundamentally influence the possibilities of a new legislature. If things were to take place as recommended by the MSZMP, the new parliament would be faced with a fait accompli. If the Opposition Roundtable were to accept the MSZMP proposal, the accusation that the Opposition Roundtable is reaching agreements at the roundtable negotiations above the heads of the people would be true. For this reason, the Opposition Roundtable is not willing to discuss this issue in this manner. We have made this clear. In response, the MSZMP has retreated and proposed that the issue be discussed once more at the specialized committee level.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] But the matter of the institution of the president of the republic is also a daily political issue. There is more to this than just a basic conflict....

[Orban] In my view, the MSZMP is already preparing itself for the post election period. Realistic elements within the MSZMP have recognized—largely thanks to the special election results—that the Communists have no chance of enlisting majority support in free elections in this country. The only question they face is how great a defeat they will suffer vis-a-vis the opposition. Nevertheless, a key question from the standpoint of the MSZMP—due to the nature of Bolshevik political organizations—is how they can salvage power for the period after the elections, in which, one may assume, the party will suffer a defeat. I firmly believe that MSZMP tactics are directed at keeping the police and the Army intact for the post election period.

The Matter Is Not Settled

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] The power apparatus, that is?

[Orban] Actually, it is the apparatus of force. There should be no changes in that apparatus. However, one could imagine an election defeat by the MSZMP or its successor(s), after which neither the defense minister nor the interior minister are communists. But since the Communist Party has placed officers in these positions for 40 years, it may be confident that as the Communist Party it will be capable of directing Communist Party members in these organizations, even against a legitimate government. In my view there are forces within the MSZMP which ponder and follow this tactic. This is supplemented by the idea of establishing a public law institution—the president of the republic—along with the Defense and Interior Ministries, which has broad powers and which is likely to be occupied by a communist candidate. I do not know whether Pozsgay is consciously supporting this or not. The MSZMP thinks it has a chance of placing its own candidate, Imre Pozsgay, into this position. And Pozsgay does have a chance of attaining this post. But this matter is not at all settled. In my view, the Opposition could nominate a competitive candidate. But the Opposition could also call on society to boycott the election for president of the republic. Even in this way, the Opposition could prevent a situation in which we would have a communist president of the republic. But this could not be fully assured. The MSZMP's consideration is somewhat realistic: they indeed would have a chance.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] What would happen if the MSZMP candidate became the president of the republic?

[Orban] After the free elections there will be a parliament in which, one may suppose, today's Opposition will be in the majority. Thus, today's Opposition can also form a government. This will become the so-called parliamentary power center. But if today's communist tactics were to prevail, we would also have a center of strength outside of Parliament. This would be composed of the Army, the police, and a communist president of the republic. That's what the game is about.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] But how would the president of the republic fit into all this? What would his authority be according to the MSZMP perception?

[Orban] According to the MSZMP, he would be the commander in chief of the Army. He could decree the existence of extraordinary conditions....

The Greatest Burden

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] If this is a realistic problem, what is the solution according to Victor Orban?

[Orban] I am convinced that there is only one solution. Imre Pozsgay must surrender the idea of becoming president of republic in this country. If Imre Pozsgay is indeed a democratic-minded person, he cannot expect the establishment of such a strong power center outside of Parliament after the elections! But I will note once again that this is my personal analysis of the situation, not that of the Opposition Roundtable.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] It would appear that the case of NEXT 2000 also fits into this view....

[Orban] Of course. MSZMP preparations for the post election period include salvaging its property which is still in its possession, ownership, or use, while at the same time negotiating, in the framework of the National Roundtable, a just way of returning to society those pieces of property to which it is entitled. Subsequently the MSZMP will do magic and render that property inaccessible to society. This is how NEXT 2000 fits in. The claim for an apparatus of force would be supplemented by financial means, by the salvaging of buildings. This is how a strong Communist Party would come about, with a strong influence in the apparatus and a strong communist head of state, offset by a divided Parliament composed of moneyless parties and a weak government. This is the best way to salvage power after losing an election. The greatest burden on the government controlled by the new, freely elected legislature will be the management of the mass of economic bankruptcy. For this reason, unavoidably, it will be forced to take some rather unpopular measures. The MSZMP will take advantage of the public mood by applying appropriate social demagogery, and regaining full power in this way....

Party, Opposition Sign Coordination Agreement

LD1809220889 Budapest MTI in English 2102 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 19 (MTI)—An agreement was signed on Monday at the plenary session of the political coordination talks. The document was signed by representatives of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and—of the nine organizations that belong to the Opposition Roundtable—by the Endre Bajcsy- Zsilinszky Society, the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Christian Democratic People's Party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, and the Hungarian People's Party, as well as the social organizations and movements constituting the third side.

The sides declared that in accordance with the principles set down in the basic agreement, the talks serve to create the political and legal conditions of the peaceful transition, to establish the democratic constitutional state based on a multi-party system, and to seek the road that leads out from the social and economic crisis.

As a result of the talks, six bills related to the essential, cordial issues of peaceful transition are to be forwarded to the prime minister, for government to submit these to National Assembly. The bills concern the amendment of the constitution, the court of the constitution, the operation and management of parties, the election of MPs to parliament, the amendment of the penal code, and the amendment of the criminal proceedings law.

The drafts contain alternative solutions. The Opposition Roundtable is to make public its differing opinion in the form of a statement.

The agreement includes the statement that peaceful transition is to last until the statutory session of the new National Assembly to come about through free elections, and the demand that participants of the trilateral coordination talks enjoy political and personal immunity.

The sides hold it necessary to reduce the pressures on National Assembly and its members, in other words, MPs should be spared from unjustified recalling and appeals for resignation.

A multi-party political system cannot fundamentally imply greater financial burdens on society than the one-party structure.

Under the agreement, the principle of impartiality should be fully enforced in the work of the national information institutions. In this interest, the impartial information committee is to be set up from personalities to be delegated by the organizations of the three sides.

The sides are of the opinion that the election of the president of the Republic is desirable in the course of this year, in the interest of promoting political stability.

Relying on the results attained so far, the sides wish to continue the work to settle the still open issues that concern peaceful transition. In the course of this, an agreement should be reached on, among others, the order of electing the president of the republic, the new law on information, the issues related to the transformation of the workers militia, the exclusion of violent solutions to political issues.

Prior to signing the agreement, representatives of all three negotiating sides delivered speeches. In the following, Imre Pozsgay announced, on behalf of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party: They would accept the proposal of the Opposition Roundtable, under which the Presidential Council is to resign at the time that the amendment of the constitution comes into force, and the functions of head of state will be seen to until the election of the president of the Republic by the speaker of parliament, according to the norms set down by law.

In the following, and contrary to expectations, further contributions were made. Peter Tolgyessy read a statement on behalf of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) which declared their separation, justifying their decision of not signing the agreement in its current form. They did not, however, wish to paralyze the other member organizations of the Opposition Roundtable with their minority position.

The main objections of SZDSZ were that the HSWP does not withdraw from the workplaces, does not give an account of its property, clings to the election of the president of the Republic before free parliamentary elections are held, and does not contribute to the dissolution of the workers militia. SZDSZ also objects that parliament decide about the alternatives that reflect the differences in views between the negotiating sides in the fundamental bills, as in its views the trilateral talks were necessary precisely because the current parliament is not legitimate. Therefore, SZDSZ proposes that a referendum decide on confirming the agreement in what was reached, and on what should be done in the debated matters.

The Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) joined the SZDSZ statement.

The representative of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (MSZDP) announced: His party is signing the agreement with the clause that MSZDP agrees with the establishment of the institution of the president of the Republic, but cannot accept either its means or its date.

The representative of the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions announced: He is not signing the submitted document as he does not agree with the presence of parties in workplaces. His reservation, he said, is not of a party political nature, but reflects the interests of employees.

The documents were signed after further answers, return replies and explanations.

Pozsgay on Need for MSZMP Transformation

LD1409230189 Budapest MTI in English
2043 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 14 (MTI)—The Reform Movement is the only force within the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] which can radically renew the party, none but the reform forces are able to formulate a constructive and successful programme that can be represented before the nation. The nation will be in a state of shock if the party is left at the congress by those who brought the renewal instead of those who attach their fate to an old image. There can be no genuine change without the transformation of the HSWP into a new party, said Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP Presidium and minister of state, in Debrecen in a meeting with representatives of the local reform circles.

Imre Pozsgay visited a factory and addressed a rally in the town centre.

Nograd Reform Circles Question Grosz Mandate

LD1509175889 Budapest MTI in English
1419 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 15 (MTI)—The reform circles of Nograd County term the election of congress delegates by the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Nograd County committee, which took place in a closed session on August 31, to contravene the rules set down by the HSWP Central Committee. The session elected HSWP General Secretary Karoly Grosz and three other persons delegates to the HSWP congress. Pal Vastagh, members of the Political Executive Committee and chairman of the congress mandate examining committee, agreed in his reply given to the protest by the Nograd County reform circles that the county party conference to be held on September 23 should decide on meeting the delegates' mandates.

Bekescaba Opposition Rally Held Without Incident

LD1609223489 Budapest MTI in English
2050 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 16 (MTI)—A rally was held by opposition organisations at Bekescsaba (SE Hungary) on Saturday, attended by some 1,000 persons. Organisers of the event have received an anonymous letter threatening with the planting explosives. The rally ended without any incident.

Speakers of the rally—including one recently elected MP—voiced hard criticism on the HSWP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] past and present politics. In their opinion—phrased most sharply by the representative of the Federation of Young Democrats, Viktor Orban—"The communists must leave for driving the country into bankruptcy, and for being unable to solve the country's problems."

An appeal to unite was addressed at the rally to all those who would never enter into a coalition with the communists.

Communique on 12-13 Sep MSZMP Session

AU1809143089 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 14 Sep 89 p 1

["Communique on the Session of the MSZMP Central Committee on 12-13 September 1989"]

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee held a meeting 12-13 September chaired by MSZMP Chairman Rezso Nyers, with the participation of the following officials, in addition to the Central Committee members: the chairman and secretary of the Central Control Committee; the first secretaries of the district party committees; the secretary of the Budapest party committee; heads of the already elected county delegates; the first secretaries of the MSZMP Miskolc and Pecs town committees; heads of the Central Committee departments; and heads of the central party press.

I

The Central Committee listened to a report on the tripartite political coordination talks submitted by MSZMP Presidium member Imre Pozsgay. The body accepted the reform and approved the concepts for further talks.

In the framework of congressional preparations, the Central Committee discussed the theses of the Central Committee report submitted by General Secretary Karoly Grosz, as well as the report on the draft party program submitted by Imre Pozsgay. The Central Committee decided to finalize both drafts at its next meeting and, subsequently, submit it to the delegates to the party congress.

The Central Committee discussed the party's draft statute submitted by Central Committee Secretary Jeno Kovacs. The Central Committee concluded that the proposals provide a proper framework for the organizational foundation of a new type of political party. The primary task of the party statute is to help the MSZMP adjust to the conditions of a multiparty parliamentary democracy and to create the organizational background for the implementation of the party program that will emerge in the congress: the action framework of a multicolored political party that is also capable of achieving unity of action. The Central Committee considers it necessary to have a statute that contains organizational solutions which have the following essential principle: every decision and action should derive from the will of the party members.

II

The Central Committee also discussed the draft procedural rules of the party congress, also submitted by Jeno Kovacs. The Central Committee wants the delegates to the party congress to create the basic party documents of decisive importance, and establish new leading organs during an open and constructive debate. The procedural rules have a double goal: The working methods and procedures applied should create guarantees for a democratic and free debate; at the same time, objective and demanding work should aim at reaching an agreement and working out a common position.

According to the draft procedural rules, personnel proposals should be made on the basis of the views of the delegates. By providing election lists, the various groups and trends with proposals should be represented in the leading bodies commensurate with their support. The Central Committee will submit the draft procedural rules to the delegates in charge of making a decision.

III

The Central Committee adopted a proposal submitted by Central Committee Secretary Pal Ivanyi on the MSZMP strategy concerning the opening to the world economy and European policy. Our economic situation urgently requires a modification of our previous economic development strategy and a change in the framework conditions of our international economic relations. We are summing up the necessary radical reorganization as our opening to world economic conditions. Contrary to the policy conducted so far, this means economic liberalization and a change in our foreign economic direction. The Central Committee decided to submit these strategic proposals to the party congress.

The Central Committee adopted a proposal on the long-term MSZMP concepts concerning the cooperative movement. The Central Committee will publish the draft position on this issue.

The Central Committee listened to a report on this year's economic processes and the proposals concerning the guidelines for the government economic policy program for the years 1990-92, a report also presented by Pal Ivanyi. The burdens of our accumulated debts, the narrow resources for restructuring, and the social tensions accumulated in previous years continue to greatly hinder the scope of our economic policy in the coming years. Under these circumstances too, we need an economic policy that will accelerate the modernization of our economy and society and will enable us to catch up with the progressive world economic trends, and, at the same time, it will ensure our lasting international solvency. Also taking into consideration the interdependence of economic and social processes, the Central Committee considers it expedient to work out several economic policy alternatives.

The Central Committee decided to provide the delegates to the party congress with written information about the economic processes of 1989 and the economic policy concepts for the coming years.

IV

The Central Committee approved the resignation of President Laszlo Kovacs and General Secretary Sandor Nagy of the National Trade Union Council [SZOT] from their Central Committee membership. At the same time, the Central Committee decided to submit—together with the MSZMP members working in the trade unions—a proposal on the new principles of MSZMP-SZOT relations and on ways to improve cooperation.

V

The Central Committee calls upon party members to join the movement of voluntary blood donors.

Social Democratic National Conference Meets

LD1609203689 Budapest MTI in English
1923 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 16 (MTI)—The national conference of the rural organisations of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (MSZDP) was held in Szeged (SE Hungary) on Saturday. A policy statement was adopted by the approximately 80-100 participants on the present situation of the party and on the preparation of its November congress. The statement also outlines the party's tasks ahead, the loyal and efficient contribution of each member is required for invigorating the party, in order to re-vitalise the one time "giant paralised by midgets"... It is not with the past but with the present that we should be occupied with, the statement establishes, saying that we cannot engage in politics in the absence of a social democratic press.

Participants of the conference also spoke about their views on the idea of MP Zoltan Kiraly being nominated for the post of president of the Republic. Twenty-five of the 30 voters agreed with the nomination, four abstained and one person was against it. Of the eleven delegates from Budapest, six voted affirmative while five were against.

In the afternoon a workers' rally was held. Members of the national leadership of the Social Democratic Party, Gyorgy Ruttner and Gyorgy Fischer spoke about the inaptitude of the present government to carry out its tasks. The country is on the brink of an abyss, the economy requires urgent measures. The government is incapable of doing these, therefore they proposed that it should submit its resignation and for a provisional government to take its place.

In his platform speech, Zoltan Kiraly said:" A change of the leadership's personnel of a scale of 10,000 would be required for achieving genuine democracy. In joining the criticism of the government he said: The government could be relieved from office but nobody would be able to form a better one today. The present government no longer belongs to the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] but neither is it that of the people. The months of this interim government are counted, and it is to disappear into historical oblivion along with the practice it had represented and implemented in the past four decades.

Journalists Federation Holds General Assembly

LD1609223789 Budapest MTI in English
2045 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 16 (MTI)—The Federation of Hungarian Journalists commenced their general assembly on Saturday. Delegates are to assess experience of the past eight months including the work done by the then elected leadership bodies, and adopt the new statutes and ethics codes and elect the federation's new officials.

In his speech, president of the federation, Gyorgy Balo said that there are a number of variations under consideration regarding the future operation of the federation. Thus for instance the chamber form, as seen in the case of doctors and lawyers. Other possibilities include a form of operation focusing on the interests of the federation's members as a kind of trade union.

Mr Balo also elaborated on the problems of journalist training and ethnical problems. On the latter issue he spoke about the increasing number of cases involving ethics, causing extreme peril to the prestige of the profession, and this process could only be halted by the self-control of the journalists.

These ideas were reflected upon during the ensuing debate. Delegates giving an address shared the concern voiced over the seriousness of the ethnical problems, and found the situation all the more dangerous because at present, trust and expectation is demonstrated by the public for the press and it would be reckless to waste this capital of trust.

Participants also spoke about the continued presence of such leaders at the head of several press organs and media who have been appointed for their political reliability and ability to adopt to the chief authority.

The federation is to resume its labours on Sunday.

Elects Chairman

LD1809005189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2200 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Text] (Laszlo Robert) has become the new chairman of the Federation of Hungarian Journalists [MUOSZ] The opposing candidate, Pal Eotvos, was the editor-in-chief of NEPSZABADSAG, but (Gabor Szanto) also received votes. At the MUOSZ General Assembly the decision was also made that the tasks of general secretary will henceforth be performed by (Gabor Demcsics), staff member of NOEK LAPJA, a member of the board of the Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers [TUDOSZ]. At the MUOSZ consultation the organization's amended statute and new ethical codes were approved.

MTI Broadcasts 'Diplomatic News' Roundup

LD1409214889 Budapest MTI in English
1639 GMT 14 Sep 89

["Diplomatic News"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, September 14 (MTI)—F Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council, cabled his greetings to Daniel Ortega Saavedra, president of the Republic of Nicaragua, on the occasion of that country's National Day.

Foreign Minister Gyula Horn cabled his greetings to Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann. X X X

F Bruno Straub, and Matyas Szuros, president of the National Assembly, and Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Arto Mansala, ambassador of the Republic of Finland, who is to shortly leave Budapest, on a farewell visit.

The Presidential Council awarded the banner of the Hungarian People's Republic to Arto Mansala, in recognition of his successful work in the interest of developing Hungarian-Finnish relations. X X X

F Bruno Straub on Thursday met Juanito P. Jarasa, ambassador of the Republic of the Philippines to Hungary, who presented his credentials. X X X

F Bruno Straub cabled his greetings to Oscar Arias Sanchez, president of the Republic of Costa Rica, on the occasion of that country's National Day.

Walesa, Freeman Discuss U.S. Economic Aid

LD1809175589 Warsaw PAP in English 1647 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Gdansk, Sept. 18—Lech Walesa met here today with Assistant to the U.S. Secretary of Labor Anthony Freeman to discuss basic problems of Polish-U.S. cooperation. Special attention was given to union affairs and U.S. economic aid for Poland.

During a meeting with representatives of the Belgian holding group "Societe General de Belgique" Walesa discussed concrete plans for economic cooperation between Belgium and Poland.

Mazowiecki Receives American Financier

LD1809200989 Warsaw PAP in English 1849 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 18—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received here today American financier George Soroza.

Daily Deems 1939 Soviet Invasion 'Illegal'

AU1809133589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16-17 Sep 89 p 4

[Commentary by Ryszard Drecki: "17 September"]

[Text] If 1 September 1939 was the beginning of a cataclysm for Poland, which was to become a cataclysm for the whole world, 17 September of the same year symbolizes a further blow that was dealt our nation, one whose consequences were enormous and tragic, and are felt to this very day, at least in the historical-psychological sphere.

The Red Army's crossing of the eastern borders of a Poland that was still fighting, although it had already been militarily defeated and abandoned by its western allies, was one of the most strictly observed taboos in our country for entire decades. If it was discussed at all, then it was discussed in subdued tones and without the whole truth being told. Today the basic contours of this issue are emerging from the darkness with increasing clarity.

There is no doubt that the basis for this act of aggression 50 years ago was the conclusion of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact less than a month earlier, and the secret protocol in particular, which set out "spheres of interest" for the USSR and the Third Reich among the states of eastern Europe "in the event of territorial and political changes in the territory of these states." The agreement violated a whole series of international legal norms that were binding at that time, such as the principles of respect for sovereignty, respect for the independence and territorial integrity of states and the principle that "previously concluded pacts were binding" (a nonaggression pact between the Polish Republic and the USSR was in force at that time), as well as certain multilateral international conventions that were concluded in the 1920's and 1930's. That is why we consider the Soviet-German agreements to have been illegal and to have had no validity from the outset.

In political and moral terms, the implementation of these agreements meant the joint participation of these two states in the partitioning and annexation of what were other sovereign states at that time, and the joint annexation and division of Poland.

The day of 17 September is a date that has impressed itself deeply in the consciousness of the Polish people, especially as the entry of the Soviet forces was soon followed by mounting repression and the perpetration of mass crimes that affected millions of Poles. We should honor the memory of the victims of those repressions, just as we should honor the memory of those Polish soliders who fell in those border regions during the final days of September, during battles that they, as a rule, neither started nor sought to impose on others. The truth about these events is not only something that we owe the victims of those repressions, but is also one of the important tasks for freeing Polish-Soviet relations of the burden that remains from the Stalinist era.

While speaking out in support of the truth, it is also necessary to debunk the legends or myths, and the distortions or wrong conclusions that easily arise under such circumstances. So it has to be stated with all due emphasis that the illegal hostile act directed against Poland on 17 September and the Soviet-German treaty on friendship and borders that was signed on 28 September as a result of it, the so-called "fourth partition of Poland," cannot in any way affect the borders that exist today. Poland's present-day borders stem from another course of events, are the product of allied and Polish-Soviet agreement, and are a permanent element of European stability.

The thesis that seeks to take a relativist view of the guilt of Hitler's Germany by arguing that it was only possible for the Third Reich to invade Poland and start the war once the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact had been signed has to be rejected. One can mention at this point a serious West German article that appeared recently and, providing documentary evidence, advanced a view whose essence is as follows: The agreement with Stalin did, of course, make things easier for Hitler, but the Nazi dictator would have struck, regardless of whether an agreement had been reached or not.

Legends that distort the truth are just as damaging as silence or falsehood with respect to this and similar issues. In fact, what emerges from the objective truth is concern for Poland's national interest and the Poles' national dignity, and the elimination of all those things that disrupted our relations with the Soviet state and its peoples, to which history was to assign, not long after the tragic events of 50 years ago, the role of liberating the Poles from Nazi occupation and of being Poland's first ally, and the guarantor of its security and of what Poland possessed in the new form that it assumed at its rebirth.

Appeal Issued on 1939 Anniversary Date

LD1609220389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] In connection with the 50th anniversary of the entry of the Red Army onto Polish territory on 17 September, Minister Aleksander Hall [responsible for social organizations and political parties] appealed on the television news bulletin to all organizers and participants of all the planned demonstrations which are to take place on this occasion. Here's the content of this appeal:

Tomorrow, 17 September, is the anniversary of the entry of the Soviet Army into Poland which was fighting the Nazi invader. This act can never be justified. Throughout the decades this date has been officially passed over in silence, although millions of Poles remembered it. In the second half of the 1970's the Polish democratic opposition publicly spoke up for the remembrance of this tragic event. This year the observance of the 17 September 1939 anniversary will take place in Poland, which is undergoing changes, and is on the road to democracy and sovereignty. There have also been many good changes in the Soviet Union. We have not only the right but also the duty to remember tomorrow's tragic date and honor the memory of those who, as a result of the Soviet invasion, suffered and lost their lives.

The government has information that various opposition groups, especially the young people, intend to organize demonstrations tomorrow. I request that they take place calmly and peacefully. Polish democratic changes need this. Now, when Stalinism is dying, boldness is once again in vogue, but it is our historical task—when many changes in Poland and many changes for the better in our eastern neighbor are occurring—to remember, above all, that the new page of our history, of our mutual relations could remain open.

USSR's Gerasimov Cited on Anti-Soviet Demos

LD1809181689 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov criticized the demonstration in Poland Sunday connected with the date 17 September. He defined as insulting some of the slogans presented during these demonstrations by the extremists participating. Gennadiy Gerasimov also expressed the opinion that the threats to Soviet citizens working in Poland did not have the support of Polish society. The Polish nation is interested in maintaining cooperation with the Soviet Union, Gennadiy Gerasimov said, citing the recent declaration of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Polish-Soviet Friendship Group on Soviet Invasion

AU1809133389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16-17 Sep 89 p 2

[Text] PAP—The Polish-Soviet Friendship Society [TPPR] held a plenary meeting in Warsaw on 15 September. The participants at this meeting, taking place on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the entry of Red Army units into Polish territory, adopted a resolution on this matter. Here is the full text of it:

Fifty years ago, on 1 September 1939, the forces of the German Third Reich carried out an armed aggression against Poland. On 17 September of that same year, Red Army units entered Poland from the east. This activity, agreed on in a secret protocol to the so-called Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact and other agreements, blatantly violated all bilateral agreements and overthrew the principle of respect for the independence, sovereignty, and integrity of our state. The rules of international law were broken, and the ethical norms of coexistence with the Polish state and people were violated. This was expressed in the two-pronged attack on Poland, which was formally confirmed in the German-Soviet "borders and friendship" treaty signed on 28 September 1939.

The TPPR Main Board states that all the German-Soviet treaties concluded against Poland are acts of violence that conflict with the principles of coexistence between nations. At the same time, we condemn all the consequences of the aggression which caused suffering to a major part of the Polish people. We state with satisfaction that in the Soviet Union today, the activity against Poland, including the 23 August 1939 German-Soviet pact with its secret protocols, has been revealed and condemned as contrary to the principles of Leninist policy and the rules of coexistence between peoples. We ask the authorities and historians of both countries to accelerate all the work aimed at explaining the full historical truth about those times, which should consolidate credibility in relations between our peoples and build friendship.

Writer Claims USSR Instigated World War II

LD1809140189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Fifty years ago, on 17 September 1939, soldiers of the Polish Army were engaged in bloody battles with the Germans. On precisely that day, early in the morning, Red Army troops crossed the Polish border. Thus, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact with its secret protocols, was fulfilled. On the 50th anniversary of these tragic events, we invited historian Leszek Moczulski, author of the book "The 1939 Polish War", which was published not quite 20 years ago and which caused a real storm at the time, to our Krakow studio. Krzysztof Kosinski was talking to our guest:

[Begin recording] [Kosinski] In 1972, was the book "The Polish War" really so very dangerous in comparison with what is being said now about the history of September 1939?

[Moczulski] The book simply showed that the country which decided Poland's defeat in 1939 was the Soviet Union. This was, in fact, not only proof of the theory of a stab in the back, but something more—it showed that the Soviet Union determined the outbreak of the war.

[Kosinski] In that case, what decided that this book should, nevertheless, be published?

[Moczulski] The book had been prepared a good deal earlier. It lay around at the Poznan publishing house, and finally went to print the day after the beginning of the December 1970 events on the coast. The censorship-...[Moczulski changes thought] the authorities at the time had completely different problems. The book was then published and caused a scandal. For example, it is stated today that the truth about the secret protocol of 23 August 1939 had only just been revealed. This is clearly untrue. Firstly, this protocol is very precisely [word indistinct] described the quoted almost in full in my book. There is just one thing missing: the description secret. Since the Soviet Union stated at the time, and continued to state for a long time, that there were no secret protocols, the censors [word indistinct] the phrase secret protocol. And, in order not to get involved in further discussion on the subject of this protocol. I (?allowed) the removal of the word secret, right? But the fundamental matters in this protocol, the division of this part of Europe from the Baltic to the Black Sea, a division along the line of Lithuania, all of this was in the book and all of this was shown on a map enclosed therein.

[Kosinski] Which versions of the history of 1939 published now would you still argue with, sir?

[Moczulski] September 17th and the secret protocol continue to be examined under the condition: What was the Soviet Union forced into, and what did the Soviet Union want to defend? That is, the accepted version is that the Soviet Union was being threatened by the Germans, that the Soviet Union was Germany's main adversary, that German war plans were directed, above all, against the Soviet Union and that the Soviet Union, being under threat in this situation, having to defend itself in whatever way it could—the defense was based on this—that they concluded a non-aggression pact with the Germans.

We do not know German plans concerning the war with the Soviet Union prior to the middle of Septmeber and October 1940. Hitler wanted war, wanted revenge through war or other means on the Western powers, and the whole of German policy of the second half of the 1930s was directed against the Western powers and not against the Soviet Union, even though it is true that he destroyed communism in a ruthless manner in Germany, and was an absolute anti-communist.

The Soviet Union was not threatened by war in 1939. However, the most important issue for the Soviet Union was to bring about the outbreak of war. This stemmed from two motives. The first motive: this was simply the imperial striving of a power. This power lost the first world war. It is the same situation with Germany. That power wanted to cancel out its defeat and acquire that which it failed to get during the war.

The second issue, and maybe for some people in the Soviet leadership, a more important one, was that of worldwide revolution, with the conviction—which was universal at the time—that worldwide revolution requires brutal, bloody action and that there was no point waiting for the situation to slowly develop. It must be accelerated—the concept of the export of revolution by force. [passage omitted] [end recording]

CSSR Criticized for Environmental Pollution

LD1809170289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] The latest news from the border of friendship is that Czechoslovakia still hasn't paid us the damages for having poisoned our Odra with Czech oil. Because our brothers from the south are UN members the matter of the damages will most probably go to the United Nations. Even stranger is the issue of the construction of the infamous Czech coking plant in Stonava which, if commissioned, will destroy forever one of the most beautiful regions of Poland. The Poles are constantly making protests against it, and recently a demonstration took place in Prague and—surprise surprise—the police did not use their truncheons. This still does not change the fact that the coking plant is yards away from our border and the winds blow into Poland most of the time.

Luckily we do not have many borders of friendships, but we are relatively close to Sweden and Finland which promised us foreign currency for the protection of the environment. Oh well, not everyone can be expected to have imagination.

FRG's Teltschik on Polish-West German Talks

AU1809143889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16-17 Sep 89 p 2

[Text] PAP—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received on 15 September Horst Teltschik, the FRG chancellor's plenipotentiary, who is in Poland in order to attend the 17th round of Polish-West German talks.

The meeting, which was over 1 hour long, was also attended by Mieczyslaw Pszon, the Polish government chief's plenipotentiary in these talks.

A POLISH PRESS AGENCY reporter asked Horst Teltschik the following question after the meeting: On the basis of your talks so far, do you agree with your Polish partner that the present round of talks will see a breakthrough in bilateral relations?

This is the eighth round already, replied the FRG chancellor's plenipotentiary, and many problems have already been solved during previous rounds. There is not much left to be solved. The latest talks have achieved progress, and we can be optimistic about a rapid end to them. However, this round will not be the last. That comes as no surprise, for this is the first meeting with the new Polish plenipotentiary, and the present round is also an opportunity to discover what the new Polish Government's interests are. Now I have to convey the results of the talks so far for the Federal Government's consideration and examination, after which we will be able to finish them. Therefore yet another round of talks will be required, and that round may be the last.

I am optimistic as to a successful conclusion of the talks, said H. Teltschik. We have talked long enough, and now it is time to act. There are really no issues that are left open. There is only the need for both sides to reach more concrete decisions.

Asked about a visit by Chancellor Helmut Kohl to our country, said that the Bonn government chief would like to visit this year. However, the date depends on the end of the talks. The visit could take place in November, and the beginning of December at the latest, said the FRG chancellor's plenipotentiary.

EC President Dumas Arrives To Sign Agreement

LD1809223389 Warsaw PAP in English
2214 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 18—French Foreign Minister, President of the EC Council of Ministers Roland Dumas came here late in the evening today to sign an agreement on trade and economic cooperation between Poland and the EC Tuesday together with vice-president of the commission of the European Communities Frans Andriessen.

Dumas told newsmen today that the agreement was the first move, independent from the things already done by the commission to help Poland. The expression "the first move" means that it will be followed by more steps, added he.

Economic, Trade Accord Signed

LD1909104289 Warsaw PAP in English
1014 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 19—An agreement on trade and economic cooperation between Poland and the EC was signed this morning in the presence of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

The document describes the rules of developing trade between Poland and the West-European Community and expresses the will to expand other forms of cooperation. Under the agreement, the EC obliged itself to lift discriminatory tariffs and quotas imposed on Polish goods.

The agreement was signed by Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki and on the EC's side by French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas and Vice-President of the EC Commission Frans Andriessen.

Mazowiecki Holds Talks With IMF Officials

LD1809202889 Warsaw PAP in English
1854 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 18—Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received here today head of the European department of the International Monetary Fund Massimo Russo and of the experts' group for Polish affairs Peter Hole.

Following the meeting Massimo Russo told PAP that his talks with the premier and members of his cabinet are aimed at faster improvement of the state of Polish economy. These are not negotiations though but they precede arrival in Poland of a four-strong IMF mission due in October, he said.

Asked what possibilities could be created by signing of an agreement with the IMF, Massino Russo said that an agreement does not create possibilities. It is you who have to create them, we can only help and support you. Before we start negotiations, it is difficult to say what the main element of the adjustment programme will be. I think, however, that curbing inflation may be the fundamental condition, Russo stated.

Jaruzelski Receives European Church Officials

LD1809132289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1005 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] In the Belweder palace today, President Wojciech Jaruzelski received the Presidium of the Polish Ecumenical Council and officials of Christian churches in Europe. They had taken part in the ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II.

PZPR Plenum Discusses Attitude to Government

LD1809202289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1742 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] The first part of the deliberations of the 15th PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee plenum has begun in Warsaw. Opening the deliberations, Mieczyslaw Rakowski stated: Basically, we are preparing for the party's 11th congress. The first part of the 15th plenum concerns discussion of the party's future and how the organizational and substantive preparations for the congress will proceed.

Over 20 speakers took the floor during the plenum discussion. They concentrated on finding an answer to the possibility of strengthening the party's authority and gaining broad social support. A proposal was made that in order for the whole party to participate in the preparations for the congress an all-party plebiscite will be conducted.

Thought was also given to issues connected with the party's attitude toward Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government. It was stressed that support by the party for this government in its difficult mission must be linked with special concern for solving the problems of the working people. It is also necessary, the participants of the discussion stated, to determine the party's attitude toward the changes, announced by the premier in his expose, in ownership relations, the scope of reprivatization, restructuring in industry, the attitude toward workers' self-management, communal property, and territorial self-management.

PZPR Deputies Propose Constitution Amendment

LD1809205589 Warsaw PAP in English
2001 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 18: Twenty-three PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] deputies tabled to the Sejm a draft law on the amendment of the Polish Constitution. The deputies stressed the need for the amendment of the hitherto Article 3 of the Constitution which spells out the principle of the guiding role of the PUWP and the lasting coalition of the PUWP, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, what ceased to reflect the political realities. PUWP deputies proposed earlier to cross-out from the constitution the provision concerning the party's guiding role.

Currently, deputies proposed a complete change of the Article 3 of the constitution. The following is the PUWP deputies' proposal:

—Political parties affiliate on voluntary bases citizens of the Polish People's Republic to express their various interests and social and political ideas and to influence, through democratic methods, the shaping of the states policy and society's harmonious development.

—Political parties, who by their aims or behaviour of their followers aim too infringe or overthrow the democratic form of government of the Polish People's Republic or endanger the sovereignty and independent existence of the Polish state, violate the constitution.

—The constitutional tribunal decides on the rejection of registration or on the ban on activities of political parties, whose aims or activities contradict the constitution.

—Principles for the creation, registration and financing of political parties' activities are defined by law.

The PUWP floor group is of the opinion that there is a need to pass a seperate law on political parties and has envisaged that it will swiftly present a draft of such law.

PZPR Committee Plenum Statement Adopted

LD1809225189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2200 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] After a debate lasting many hours, and adoption of several organizational and programmatic documents, the first part of the 15th plenum of Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee has ended in Warsaw. The second part will be held later this month. Decisions have been made initiating the process of preparations for the 11th PZPR congress. Mieczyslaw Rakowski stated that the special significance of the 15th plenum resulted from the fact that it concerned the near and more distant future of the PZPR.

At the conclusion of the meeting a statement was adopted which reads: There are cases of attempting to make political work of the party in work enterprises more difficult, which antagonize the workforces and disrupt unification due to economic issues which are most important to Poland. In the conditions of the advance of democratization, it is obvious that the political parties act everywhere where they have their members. The Central Committee states that PZPR organizations in work enterprises are acting for the sake of peace, to ease tensions and conflicts, and for the sake of solid and well-organized work, essential to extricate the country from this crisis.

The PZPR Central Committee is asking its parliamentary floor groups to introduce urgently a draft law on political parties to the Sejm, reads the statement of PZPR Central Committee on activity of the party in work enterprises.

PZPR Resolution on Central Congress Commission

LD1809224489 Warsaw PAP in English
2215 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 18—In tune with Article 46 of the PUMP [Polish United Workers Party] statutes, the Central Committee decided that the Central Congress Commission would include proposed or selected members of the PUWP leadership, members of the central party authorities, deputies—PUWP members, party representatives of trade unions affiliated to the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ), party representatives of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP), the Polish Pathfinders' Union (ZHP), the Union of Rural Youth (ZMW) and the Union of Polish Students (ZSP), representatives of voivodship congress commissions, representatives of clubs and movements of political thinking in the party and other outstanding activists of the socialist left in Poland, experts and representatives of the central press and party publishing houses.

The composition of the commission will be approved of by the Central Committee. Work of the Central Congress commission is led by its chairman, PUWP CC first secretary.

It will be the task of the Central Congress Commission to prepare drafts of programmatic documents and the party statutes which will be submitted to the 11th Congress by the Central Committee.

The Central Congress Commission will define principles of its work and its internal structures.

PAP Reports on PZPR Plenum Proceedings

LD1809230989 Warsaw PAP in English
2240 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 18—The approval of several documents of the organizational and programmatic character ended the first part of the 15th PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee plenum held here today. The second part of the plenum will be held later this month. The Central Committee today took decisions which practically initiate the process of preparations for the 11th Congress of PUWP. The meeting was attended by guests, including the presidium of the PUWP parliamentary caucus.

While opening the debates, PUWP Central Committee First Secretary Mleczyslaw Rakowski pointed to the particular interest in the meeting. To meet this demand, the party leaders made the beginning of the debates open to a number of foreign and Polish journalists. Mieczysalw Rakowski also stressed that the significance of the 15th plenum stems from the fact that it concerns the problems of the immediate and more distant future of the PUWP.

A report by political bureau member, PUWP CC secretary Leszek Miller started a discussion.

More than 20 speakers took part in the discussion. Many of them took the floor also in the part of the debate designated for the approval of documents such as resolutions, stances and statements. The discussion was vivid and went on for several hours.

Participants in the discussion motivated the need of preparing in the forum of the 11th congress and while thinking of all party members, the documents which would precisely outline the goals and values which the party struggles for, aims at and which it wants to achieve. The programme, even the best one, is not enough. First of all, needed is its consistent implementation which in turn is determined by the strength of the party ranks and their integration.

PUWP Central Committee members stressed that it is necessary to conceive such a direction of changes within the party which would ensure party's attractiveness for society. This is impeded by the routine-like approach manifested by a considerable number of party members.

While setting off for the new (goals), one has to account honestly with the past which must not mean a permanent self- flagellation, the discussants said.

The meeting came out in favour of creating in the course of preparations for the 11th congress of all possible conditions for full freedom while expressing opinions and views. The point is also to present preparatory programmes by various milieus. It is needed by the historic turn which is now taking place.

Czeslaw Kiszczak, Central Committee Bureau member, vice-premier and minister of internal affairs, characterized tendencies which arise while defining of new structures and new tasks of the ministry. Only national agreement, common work and co-responsibility for this country are a chance for Poland. There is no other alternative today, stressed he.

Florian Siwicki, Central Committee Political Bureau member and minister of national defence, stressed new political determinants which require transformations in the functioning of the party and structures of the army. He also informed the plenary meeting about work on a comprehensive programme of these reforms in the Polish Army.

Wlodzimierz Natorf, Central Committee secretary, spoke about some political problems in the aspect of international determinants. He warned against attempts of actions which justify nationalist moods and which are anatagonizing. He stressed it was significant for the PUWP to intensify contacts with parties in other countries.

Irena Lubowska, Central Committee Political Bureau member, principal of the Adam Asnyk Secondary School in Bielsko-Biala, stressed that a common and authentic debate is necessary today as it has never been before. One should do everything to convince everybody on the significance of changes started by the 10th PUWP plenary meeting.

The Central Committee adopted: A resolution on the principles and procedure of electing the central congress commission. A resolution on conducting a party-wide poll on the preparations for the 11th PUWP Congress. A statement concerning party's activities in work establishments. A stance on party's participation in the government.

The decision on conducting a party-wide poll concerning the preparations for the 11th PUWP Congress and the questions will be published in Wednesday editions of TRYBUNA LUDU and other party dailies. The stance concerning PUWP's participation in the government will be issued later.

As to personnel matters, the Central Committee approved the decision to nominate Jerzy Szmajdzinski for the head of the Party Work Department. Maciej Lubczynski was appointed the head of the department—Secretariat of PUWP Central Committee Workers' Commission.

At the end of the debates, the floor was taken by PUWP Central Committee First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski.

PZPR's Miller, Bisztyga Brief Press on Plenum

LD1809231589 Warsaw PAP in English 2255 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 18—Political Bureau member and CC [Central Committee] secretary Leszek Miller and CC press spokesman Jan Bisztyga met with newsmen after the first part of the 15th PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC plenary meeting here today.

The 15th PUWP CC plenary meeting was held after very significant events had taken place in this country. There have been created conditions for the functioning of a pluralist government, and for the testing of the value of parliamentary democracy for the efficiency of the state, said the CC press spokesman.

The party must adapt itself to these new conditions and the 15th plenary meeting has been a manifestation of the efficiency of the adjustment.

Jan Bisztyga said the process of adjustment of the PUWP to the new situation was connected with preparations for the 11th congress. Such a process cannot be easy. There must be controversy, and various platforms of solving tactical and strategic issues. So it would not be honest to call this state of the party a split or in any other pejorative way. As this is a creative search for the best solutions.

While commenting on the nature of monday's debates of the 15th PUWP CC plenary meeting, Jan Bisztyga described them as a forum of a heated discussion and controversy in assessments. All the documents discussed at the meeting were approved by the majority of votes. This is a lasting phenomenon in our party and it proves that the party is alive and is reborn.

Leszek Miller spoke about the details of the planned all-party poll on preparations for the 11th PUWP congress. Asked how he would answer questions included in it, the CC secretary said he was coming out in favour of new electoral regulations which would substantially broaden possibilities to directly elect delegates to the congress, of granting party candidates eligibility and a right to vote, of a free and competitive functioning of ideological, programmatic, organizational and political platforms, of including in the party activity of people of the left from outside of the party and of transforming the PUWP in a party with a new programme, statutes and name.

Asked what the CC intends to do with results of this poll Leszek Miller said that during the second part of the 15th plenary meeting the Central Committee would get acquainted with the results of the poll and would adopt a solution supported by the majority of party members. He also said that the date for the congress would be agreed upon at that time.

Rakowski Answers Questions From PAP, TV

AU1809143289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Sep 89 p 3

[Text] PAP—During his meeting with the party aktivs of Lodz Voivodship on 14 September, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, answered questions from the POLISH PRESS AGENCY and television.

[Question] Most of the questions during today's meeting asked for expansions of what you said in your television speech yesterday. What kind of party is the party of the Polish left wing to be? What kind of socialism shall we have? What will be the party's main political base, in other words, who is going to belong to it?

[Rakowski] It is difficult to say who will belong to it. All one can do is hope that progressive people will belong, people with progressive views, but also with various political orientations, who consider the working class to be the salt of the earth. Such a party is supposed to recognize differences among society. In any case, this is in connection with the changes taking place in the world, as well as in ways of thinking. This is also in connection with the fact that a new political generation, born after World War II, is now entering the scene.

[Question] If one had said that 30 years ago, might he have been stripped of his party membership?

[Rakowski] I suppose so, but it is ridiculous to put what we are saying today into the context of the 1950's.

[Question] Will the reborn party of the left wing try to win authority, just like every party? Will it regain its prestige, or will it fall into the same trap?

[Rakowski] That will depend on whether or not its members want to fight for authority. Most of all, it will depend on the party's internal dynamics, militancy, and desire to fight. In the past, we ruled alone. Therefore we are saying goodbye to the monopoly of power. Ruling alone meant that the issuing of directives and decrees took the place of political work and of winning over people. It is necessary to convince people that I am right.

[Question] So the elections in 4 years time will be a test?

[Rakowski] Yes, that is how I would put it.

PZPR Radio, TV Employees Make Demands

AU1809170989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Sep p 2

[PAP report of statement issued by the PZPR members employed in Polish radio and television: "Disquiet Felt by Journalists Employed in Polish radio and television"]

[Text] Polish radio and television have in the last few weeks become the object of infighting in the continuing political struggle. The media working teams continue to be treated as mere pawns in the political game.

Owing to this situation the representatives of all party organizations in Polish radio and television consider the following proposals to be imperative:

—Radio and television must be placed under the control of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic;

—Professional management must be introduced in both radio and television. This management would be subordinate to a programming council. The council would be pluralistic in its composition, and would represent all forces and groupings that are represented in parliament;

—The implementation of a policy that unites, rather than divides, institutions, working teams, and people;

—Implementation of organizational and finacial-economic measures in accordance with our slogan: "All for the Program" which we have been strongly advocating for a long time;

—The immediate improvement of the material situation and the technical base of radio and television.

The implementation of these proposals will enable a conflict-free passage to a new model of radio and television service; a service that will reflect society's expectations.

The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] members who work in radio and television—we read in the conclusion—declare their readiness to cooperate with all those people who are interested in these proposals and their readiness to enter into a dialogue on the best way to implement such proposals.

These members have also asked the PZPR Central Committee to summon immediately an extraordinary congress of the Polish United Workers Party.

In the media workers opinion, the 15th PZPR Central Committee Plenum should take place before the end of September. This plenum should agree on the exact date for the congress, as well as setting up the various commissions that would make the necessary preparations.

The congress should meet before the end of the current year.

The congress must elaborate a program for the party; a modern party of the left that would be active in a civic society and operate within the parameters of parliamentary democracy.

The PZPR members who are employed in radio and television believe that the PZPR leadership will consider their demands. Poland's dramatic economic situation and the future of the PZPR make this imperative.

Czestochowa Meeting of Party Reformers Reported

AU1809171189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16-17 Sep 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Toward a New Left"]

[Text] The search for a new shape for the party is still on. We have already reported that more and more programmatic initiatives are being presented, and that party organizations are becoming more energetic. The pre-congress rush is in progress.

In Czestochowa recently there was a forum attended by about 300 people, who comprise the so-called "64 Group" in the Czestochowa committee of the Polish United Workers Party. The forum was also attended by representatives of reformist movements in Warsaw and Katowice.

The Czestochowa party committee tells us that the forum called for an early party congress and rendered support for the "8 July Movement."

Walesa Gives News Conference in Gdansk

LD1409183489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Lech Walesa gave a news conference today at the Solidarity office in Gdansk. The leader of Solidarity, asked about the attitude of the union to the sacrifices and further lowering of the public's standard of living in the context of realization of the government program, replied:

[Begin Walesa recording] I do not agree with putting things this way, that is, I am of the opinion that it is not necessary to give up anything in Poland. The market is so empty that if a wise economic concept is introduced and help from outside given it can only get better. Of course, if we are left alone, then yes, it would be necessary to lower our standard of living and so on. That is why I am doing everything to keep that from happening. I was in the FRG and I have had hundreds of meetings. Yesterday, or today I met with the Norwegian ambassador. I am constantly striving so that the standard of living of the society is not lowered one inch. I note that there are possibilities for the West to cooperate with us and then we will set forth without lowering the standard. If we fail then your variant applies, but I do not believe that (?we will fail). I am a man (?of victory). I do not believe I can fail.

[Unidentified correspondent] Do you envision the possibility of creating a parliamentary coalition of Solidarity with the Polish United Workers Party?

[Walesa] I have explained thousands of times that what has been happening up to now is a confrontational model. It is not, of course, a violent confrontation, it is a peaceful confrontation. On the one side, one can say that there is the party, the old coalition, part of the coalition and something else, and on the other side Solidarity and some kind of opposition.

This is exclusively along the lines of a model of the struggle for pluralism. One side is defending itself and wants to keep as much as possible [words indistinct] wants to introduce the reforms slowly, has its style—one can debate whether it is correct or not—and on the other side there is Solidarity saying we want it the other way. We want pluralism, democracy, freedom, and so on. After the victory of this way—and it has the chance of winning, because everyone is saying that pluralism and democracy are needed—the confrontational set-up, the set of two forces, will not be needed. Then we should—life will bring it about itself or we will do it—make sure that organizations are created that are in line with the composition of the society. One can debate what this is, but I think that it is as follows: there is a lot of Christianity [words indistinct] that means political parties and trade unions of Christian character, and I envision that there will be (?about five) Christian groups arguing with each other, all will believe in God but some are more with the bishop, other with the parish priest, others with the party, others with the United Peasant Party—such a set up is possible.

After Christians there is another large group in Poland—the socialists. They will have trade unions and a political party of socialist character. In the third place—this is my personal opinion, but other wise people think so too—there are communists. Here there will be trade unions and political parties that are communist. Then the Jews and the others, small minorities—they have the right to organize themselves and create programs and present them for voting in the parliament and then participate in the government depending on the size and wisdom of their programs—if society elects them.

Solidarity is just a reforming force that is to bring this moment about. It is numerically strong but it will get smaller because of these other groups that will be created within Solidarity. Later there will probably remain a trade union that will be one of many trade unions.

This is the course of events that I envision, such a course of events is logical. The question to me is: Are we to help this course of events or are we waiting for life to bring this about? At the moment life is making it happen, which is good. We are doing these important things step by step, that is reforms in three areas: political, economic, and trade union and social. We have managed to make political reforms.

Really, with regard to the topics of politics there is no need for reforms anymore if the premier delivers (?what he promised)—political pluralism. Now we are tackling the economic topics, as you can see, we are working really hard at the economy so that there is no need to lower the standard of living.

As for the third thing—I state this with some sorrow as a trade unionist—there will be time to build a (?bigger) trade union, which will have good reason to exist because there will be good political and economic conditions helping a good trade union. [end recording]

Democratic Party Presidium Holds Meeting

LD1809202489 Warsaw PAP in English
1944 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 18—At its meeting here today the Presidium of the Democratic Party [DP] Central Committee considered issues connected with realization of the programme of the new government. The presidium referred with appreciation to the conceptions presented in Premier Mazowiecki's Sejm expose which included numerous proposals voiced by the DP. The meeting considered it the essential issue to work out a programme for saving economy and to realize the budget law in the fourth quarter of this year.

The presidium defined principles for cooperation with the DP representatives in the government and pointed to the need to appoint a group of experts to assist them. Discussed were also issues concerning DP's further participation in the central state administration.

In the presence of representatives of the DP Parliamentary Floor Group Deputies Andrzej Bondarewski and Bogan Osinski, the presidium considered the work schedule in the political system, economic and social spheres adopted by the caucus.

The presidium appointed a commission to hold a referendum in DP on the change of the party's name.

DP Deputies Propose Constitutional Amendments

LD1809215289 Warsaw PAP in English
2115 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 18—Deputies of the Democratic Party [DP] proposed a bill on constitutional amendments.

The first three amendments recognize the whole nation as the sovereign of the state authority and the Polish state as the common weal of all its citizens.

Another amendment concerns equality of all forms of ownership.

Next amendments account for individual ownership of land and the rights to inherit land, buildings and means of production that should be protected by the law independently from the professional status of the owners.

The bill proposes also that independent courts decide on the imprisonment penalty and that matters regulated by penal code be removed from the constitution.

OPZZ 'Ready To Cooperate' With New Leadership

AU1809171489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Sep 89 p 2

["OPZZ Executive Committee Statement" issued on 13 September]

[Text] Having acquainted itself with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's speech, the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] Executive Committee states the following:

1. We welcome the completion of the process of forming the highest governing bodies of the state. We wish success to the new premier and the ministers who have taken upon themselves the task of discharging responsible duties at this difficult time.

2. We welcome and express hope at the announcement of the intention to solve the fundamental problems that have been raised by our movement for years. We consider this to apply to announcements concerning the following:

—an effective struggle against inflation;
—guarantees of a decent pension;
—a definite breakthrough in housing construction;
—an improvement in health care and the protection of the environment;
—the resolution of pressing problems in health care and education
—the genuine introduction of equal rights and duties for all sectors of our economy;

3. Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki spoke about the possible emergence of certain negative phenomena that we cannot view with indifference. We believe that they include social and economic dangers such as:

—unemployment;
—a marked decline in society's standard of living;
—a further drop in output;
—the privatization of national wealth.

We believe that the new government will make it possible to avoid these fundamental dangers that can harm the existence of the majority of Polish families.

4. It was and is the OPZZ's intention to support government action that promotes the well-being of working people, pensioners, and people who receive benefits. We are already partners of a fourth government. We have become convinced that deeds, not words, were what determined the results of each previous government. That many members of the new cabinet refer to the fact that their roots are in trade unionism permits us to assume that the goal of their activity is to restore the dignity of working people and to improve the lives of Polish families. We are ready to cooperate in the implementation of political, social, and economic reforms in these areas.

The OPZZ Executive Committee.

Warsaw, 13 September 1989.

Kuron Statement on Wage Indexation Amendments

LD1809214789 Warsaw PAP in English 2106 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 18—Discussing the initiative of the government economic committee concerning amendments to the principles of indexation, Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jacek Kuron emphasized in his statement for PAP today that the key reason for launching it was the economic situation in the country. "The state of the economy is just like after an earthquake. This is reflected by the state's finances," said he.

"All of us are also aware of the danger posed by the skyrocketing prices. The alternative is to undertake economic moves, including those that aim in the first place at reducing the budget deficit that currently exceeds zlotys 5 trillion.

"Our first programme concerns indexation. The chief point is that the indexation every quarter of the year should not bring more money to those who have already managed to obtain pay rises higher than the price hike. Such indexation would harm those who failed to do this.

"However, we propose that the indexation payrises understood in the above way - to be made in October - should fully make up for the increase in the costs of living. This entails the proposed change of the indexation factor from 0.8 to 1.0.

"We propose indexation once a month, starting from November and making up for the increase in the costs of living in the immediate past month, in this case in October. Of course, this principle would also be binding in December.

"The amendment to the principles of indexation is only a fragment of a comprehensive package of initiatives launched by the economic committee and the government, in order to fairly distribute the burdens that must be shouldered," Kuron said.

Council of Ministers Adopts Draft Budget Law

LD1809221689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1730 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] The Council of Ministers has been in session since 1500 [1300 GMT].

The draft law on the state budget for October has been adopted. The financial situation of Poland gives the government no room for maneuver. The implementation of the most urgent social tasks requires increased resources which will not be covered by current income. The proposed solutions envisage, among other things, the enforced payment of taxes due from enterprises to the State Treasury.

Opinion Poll Assesses Mazowiecki's Premiership

LD1809224389 Warsaw PAP in English 2219 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 18 —54 per cent of those polled by the public opinion polling centre at the Polish Radio and TV Committee on Sept 4-5, assesssed the nomination of Tadeusz Mazowiecki for premier as development of historic and breakthrough significance.

34 per cent of the polled were of the opinion that the event is significant but it is difficult to term it as a breakthrough. 7 per cent had no firm opinion on the subject.

Few, some 3 per cent were of the opinion that Mazowiecki's nomination for premier is not of major importance or is an insignificant fact, 2 per cent.

Asked if Mazowiecki would be a good premier, 23 per cent of the respondents said that surely yes, while 53 per cent said that rather yes, 4 per cent of the polled were of the opposite opinion and said that the new premier would rather not be a good head of the government while every 5th person (20 per cent) lacked a firm opinion. Generally prevailing was the opinion that Tadeusz Mazowiecki would manage to win the society's confidence (33 per cent of such answers), while 16 per cent of the polled were of the opinion that the premier would succeed in breaking the social discouragement and convince people that their efforts would not be wasted.

More than half of the polled were of the opinion that Premier Mazowiecki would manage to radically reform the economy (54 per cent of such opinions) and equally frequent were the statements that he would lead to tangible improvement of the material conditions of the society's standard of living.

Every second person (50 per cent) voiced the opinion that the new premier would succeed in persuading people into temporary sacrifices if such proved necessary.

Daily Comments on Premier, New Government

AU1809123789 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16-17 Sep 89 p 3

[Wladyslaw Tyruba article: "The Premier and His Government"]

[Text] The year 1989, an exceptional year for Poland, has just provided us with a government that is a cross-section of Poland, as it were, for its composition reflects practically every single component and characteristic of the present situation. It combines the duty of Sejm representation with the values of compromise and accord. It guarantees an acceleration and radicalization of the reforms, especially the economic ones, plus the essential continuation of the evolutionary process. It combines a wider opening toward the world with a desire to fulfill earlier commitments. Therefore, the government places the value of accord and joint activity above tendencies to exacerbate divisions and put forth claims and demands.

The new premier appears to be a clear spokesman of moderate pluralism who possesses a high level of political culture, a feeling for authentic democracy, and a strong desire for cooperation according to the principles of morality and humanitarianism. Such an opinion of the premier is confirmed by his speeches and conduct, whereas one can tell from the composition of the government that he wants to create the broadest possible platform of cooperation among a society that possesses major differences and is partly perturbed.

The government composition is proof that certain values were referred to when electing it, values that also serve as a model for future public life in Poland. Apart from the fact that this is the first time that a Catholic oppositionist and cofounder of "Solidarity" has formed a government, the very way in which he has formed it is significant of the present situation. From the way Tadeusz Mazowiecki approaches very complex issues, one can tell that he wants to firmly apply his Catholic system of morals and values, and that he is very sensitive to the Polish situation.

Is it a coincidence that such a person and no other has formed such a government at such a momentous period for Poland and accorded this government a philosophy of action that calls for accord and cooperation among society? I think not. I think the formation of this government is the result of an intelligent awareness of present needs and of the inherent logic of the process of change.

It is easier to perceive this logic when one observes the political scene from the sidelines, but more difficult when one is a member of the authorities. Therefore, it was easier for the opposition to see this than it was for the authorities and their allies. And yet even among these people there were some who realized present needs and perceived the logic behind present changes even before the 10th Polish United Workers Party plenum. Thus, the beginning of the road to the present government lies quite far back in the past.

Someone may say at this point that first, the opposition had to be established in public life before it was possible to transfer from the old political system to a new one. All there was before was a sluggish motion forward, mere modifications of the old system. That is true. However, any alterations to the status quo affect someone's interests. In this case, progress was hampered by the old political and economic order. In order to proceed to effective reforms, it was first necessary to do away with what seemed to be hallowed ideological doctrines and commence a struggle for a reform to the political system. Only then did it become possible to embark upon the most difficult sphere—economic reform.

It was the reformers in the old government team that embarked along this path. Society's suspicion of them and lack of confidence in them formed an additional burden. The 10th PZPR Plenum was their victory. At this plenum something happened that is very rare among authorities. The party decided to limit its scope and open itself to the opposition. In fact, it issued an invitation to actual reconciliation. This created the chance for talks and the adoption of a common approach toward the formation of a new order in Poland. But before this could happen, it was necessary to dispense with the old image of the opposition. Thus, the authorities accepted with difficulty an acceptance of their adversary, the spirit of compromise with their competitors, and the culture of cooperation with a partner.

The "Solidarity" opposition also had to embark upon a difficult road that led to the formation of a government headed by a non-PZPR premier and the start of fundamental reforms. Although the opposition possessed a clear vision of its objective, it was forced to act under conditions of division, illegality, and repression, without access to the press, radio, or television. It also had to revise many of its former convictions, for example the idea that strikes and social conflicts are effective methods of solving difficult problems, that the system cannot be reformed, and that talks and compromise with the authorities are pointless. In order to achieve a govermnent led by one of its own politicians, the opposition group led by Lech Walesa also had to seriously revise its ideas about the adversary and dispense with its prejudices when viewing the country's problems and its own role in solving them.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government seems to combine everything that the two sides—the former authorities and the former opposition—created for the sake of the country's sociopolitical and economic changes and for the sake of a harmonious and more effective fulfillment of a new Poland. For the time being at least, they have managed to form something that Poland needed form the very beginning of the reform process—a broad coalition of reformers. This is all the more valuable because Tadeusz Mazowiecki managed to achieve this coalition while preserving the separate identity of all its members.

So far I have not mentioned a third force which has played a great role in easing the Polish drama and creating a culture of political coexistence—the church. There is no doubt that the church has gone down in history for its role during the relatively mild social conflict and for its influence, which has guaranteed conduct that prevented a disintegration of the state during the difficult process of achieving accords and compromise. It provided moral and spiritual support for the opposition, but it also encountered understanding among the reformers in the authorities who did much to preserve the state's stability and protect its international interests. Neither can one forget or play down the fact that the attitude of these very people in the authorities has made possible the normalization of relations between the church and the state, and even the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Vatican. I think these developments were crucial for the favorable chain of events in Poland and their peaceful course.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki appears at the very center of this complicated but promising structure of political partners. He has supplied to the troubled political scene qualities that are essential today—a deep conviction of the need for thorough reforms, a feeling inherited from the opposition; his own high personal status in the system of values that concerns social coexistence; and a feeling of realism, and perhaps of pragmatism as well.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki is a man of the church and "Solidarity." His government and program promise that all of Poland's complicated affairs will be considered. By contributing to public life many values and convictions from his church and opposition background, he himself seems to be the very chance Poland needs. No one in Poland questions that. As helmsman of the state ship, he possesses a quality that is rare in Poland, not just since the war—he enjoys genuine social support.

Will all these promising qualities of the new government and of the premier himself be used to the full? It is no exaggeration to say that this is a historic chance. Wasting it through stupidity, egoism, pursuance of private interests, factiousness, indifference, and all the other qualities that have frequently dragged Poland downward would be yet another loss.

Commission Investigating Unlawful Killings Meets

AU1809143189 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 14 Sep p 2

[Report signed 'e.m.': "Special Commission Investigates the Ministry of Internal Affairs"]

[Text] The Special Commission for the Investigation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs set up by the Sejm on 2 August on the motion of Tadeusz Kowalczyk of the Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP], met on Wednesday to decide on the scope of its work.

T. Kowalczyk, who was asked by the minister of internal affairs to substantiate allegations he had made that the Ministry of Internal Affairs has been responsible for about 100 murders, presented a list of 93 mortalities (from 13 December 1981 to 15 July 1989) which were due to "the repressive activity of the forces of public order," or occurred "in circumstances that had not been explained."

"Not all these cases were a result of repressive activity with political overtones. People died from gunshots or beatings, and very often for the most trivial of reasons, and this fact must be linked to the pervading feeling of total immunity among the ministry's officials" he explained.

"The commission has already received hundreds of letters" said the chairman of the commission, Jan Rokita (OKP). He suggested that the 23 members of the commission should divide themselves into groups which, availing themselves of expert help (such as lawyers, and criminologists, and so forth), would then carry through an investigation into the records of the individual cases.

Though the commission does not have investigative powers, the commission has been assured by General Kiszczak, that it can count on the cooperation of his own officials, and have access to files, reports, and records. The Ministry of Internal Affairs has already set up its own internal team to liaise with the commission, and General Lucjan Czubinski has been appointed the head of this unit. "We are not an investigating commission. Our brief is to give an answer to the question why some sections of the Ministry continue to function as they do" continued J. Rokita.

"I cannot imagine for one moment that those people who have written to the commission would wish to be interviewed by General Czubinski. They are far too afraid" stated Edmund Krasucki (OKP).

"We are a political commission, and we should leave investigation to the state procurator service" stated Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. He recommended that the commission should limit the scope of its work to the 93 cases that have been submitted, and he called for the appointment of prosecuting judges (something that the present legal system does not provide for).

"It was the procurator service that put the investigations on ice in the first place" replied Judge Andrzej Konopka (Democratic Party). "The suggestion of letting the specialists get on with the job, is laughable" added lawyer Maciej Bednarkiewicz (OKP).

"We have to let the public know whether these were political killings or not. We cannot limit ourselves to just these 93 cases. We have to throw light on the mechanisms which could have led to such a situation" stated Stanislaw Gabrielski (PZPR, who is also a PZPR Central Committee functionary). He supported Jan Litynski, who stated that "such mechanisms must be exposed."

Senator Zbigniew Romaszewski (chairman of the Human Rights Commission) who was invited to attend the sitting, stated that if the perpetrators of these acts were subsequently revealed "we should not stop in bringing them to justice." He suggested the need to change the law relating to the rights and duties of deputies, so as to give the commission the right to call people to appear before the commission for a hearing; for example, to hear the procurators.

W. Cimoszewicz, argued for delegating the investigations to the procurator service. "I maintain this stance not to cloud the issue, but to avoid a political scandal. We must not work in an amateurish way" he added. This time, he was supported by S. Gabrielski who suggested that such an idea was worth considering. He explained that in this matter he had a moral dilemma.

Marian Kedzierski (United Peasant Party) suggested that the commission begin its work as best it could. Edward Muller (OKP) reminded the commission that in some countries there were juries composed of laymen.

The commission decided to begin work on the 93 cases, but it reserved the right not to limit itself exclusively to these cases only. If the need arose, it would also consider cases occurring before 13 December 1981. The documentation relating to these cases had been collected by the Workers Defense Committee.

Local Democracy Development Fund Founded

*LD1809174789 Warsaw PAP in English
1634 GMT 18 Sep 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 18—A founding act of the local democracy development fund was signed here today in the presence of speaker of the Senate Andrzej Stelmachowski. The initative to create the fund came out from Senators Andrzej Celinski, Aleksander Paszynkski, Jerzy Rogulski and Jerzy Stepien and Deputy Walerian Panko.

The aim of the fund is to extend organization and financial support for local citizen's groups who wish to participate in the administration of their cities or rural regions.

After the signing ceremony, Senator Regulski said, among other things: During the election campaign, citizens' committees movement confirmed the social need for the reconstruction of local self-government. This movement, formed by over one thousand committees, demands the advancing of the date of local elections. It should be expected that they will be held next year. This means the need to prepare about 110 thousand councillors and several times more people closely cooperating with them, that means at least one million people.

We are eager to take advantage of foreign experiences, to invite to Poland foreign experts and to send our representatives of local societies to enable them to personally see how democracy functions in other countries, Senator Regulski said.

Gasoline Shortage Worsens in Silesia

*LD1809124689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1005 GMT 18 Sep 89*

[Text] The fuel situation in Katowice, Biesko-Biala, and Czestochowa voivodships is increasingly difficult. There are kilometers-long lines in front of gas stations and at most stations there is a lack not only of gasoline but also of diesel. The announcements by the Ministry of Industry that there would be increased fuel supplies in the middle of September have turned out to be false. One of the largest fuel depots in the country, at Boronow in Czestochowa voivodship, which supplies Silesia and other places with gasoline, is totally empty. Unlike other regions, Silesia has no pipeline connection with refineries. Fuel supplies are transported by rail and that often fails.

Up to the moment of filing this report, a train carrying gasoline sent from Gdansk on Saturday has not yet got through to Boronow. We succeeded in tracing this ghost train at 0600 today. It was already on the Silesian border, at Karsznice. After arrival, it will need to be unloaded, transshipped into tankers, and only, then in the afternoon perhaps, will the gas get through to the several hundred gas stations where people have been in line since Saturday. Drivers are beginning to recall the good times when gasoline was rationed and was not, as at present, subject to speculators. Many taxi drivers, who have special allocations, refuse to buy gasoline at prices differing from those currently in force.

Jaruzelski Attends War Veterans' Union Meeting

LD1509210389 Warsaw PAP in English 1903 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 15—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski today attended a gala meeting of the chief council of the war veteran's union Zbowid held to mark the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War 2 and the jubilee of the Union, which was founded on the 10th anniversary of the Nazi attack on Poland.

In a letter from Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jacek Kuron read out during the meeting, the minister congratulated the veterans on their jubilee and assured that problems of their group would be taken care of by his ministry.

TV Program Broadcast on President Jaruzelski

LD1909084189

[Editorial Report] Warsaw Television Service in Polish at 1905 GMT on 15 September broadcasts the 1-hour-and-15-minute "I Want To Be a President of all Poles" program, devoted to President Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The program includes interviews with people in public life who know and work with Jaruzelski, including General Czeslaw Kiszczak, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Gen Janiszewski, Gen Siwwicki, Prof Jan Kostrzewski, Prof Jan Szczepanski, and former Politburo member Zofia Grzyb. It also includes interviews with people who have met Jaruzelski during the course of political life in Poland over the past decade, such as Lech Walesa, Cardinal Glemp, Senate Speaker Stelmachowski, former Catholic Deputy Ryszard Bender, and well-known journalist Zygmunt Broniarek. They comment on Jaruzelski's personality, character, and some of his controversial decisions in the past, such as the imposition of martial law and his role in the events of 1970 on the Gdansk coast. Also included are fragements of Jaruzelski's speeches delivered at various times.

The program also contains some brief statements of opinions on Jaruzelski by foreign celebrities, such as Margaret Thatcher, Mikhail Gorbachev, George Bush, and Robert Maxwell.

The program highlights Jaruzelski's role as a great patriot, to whom Poland is the most important thing, and also as a private person, giving some insight into his hobbies—horses and reading—as well as into his family background, education, and his family life at present.

The program is interspersed with clips of an interview with Jaruzelski conducted at his home, containing memories of his military career and his opinions on a variety of subjects, such as basic values. Jaruzelski stresses that he intends to be the president of all Poles, the motto of the film.

Radio Cites TASS on GDR Citizens' Passage

AU1909080689 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] The Soviet news agency TASS has broadcast a commentary in connection with the passage of some GDR citizens to the FRG through Hungary. Among other things, the TASS commentary notes that it is really sad that, within the context of some positive changes occurring in Europe, a triangle of tension has suddenly appeared between Berlin, Bonn, and Budapest. It is timely to ask the question: What are the aims of those who, using the slackening of the border crossing rules from Hungary as of May 1989, consciously prepared this action? If the long-term interests of the FRG and its relations with the GDR and the other socialist countries in general are taken into consideration, then this action will not result in anything else but prejudices. So far, it is difficult to say how serious the consequences will be of this last disturbance of the process of building a peaceful Europe, in security, in which all countries mutually respect interests. It is not very likely—TASS notes —that one can accumulate capital by harming the other side or by ignoring its legitimate interests.

Dascalescu Greets Poland's Mazowiecki

AU1909111389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Sep 89 p 5

[Text] Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, sent a telegram to Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, on his investiture to this office. In the telegram, Dascalescu conveys Mazowiecki wishes for successes in the mission entrusted to him and expresses his belief that the governments of the two countries will continue to work for expanding many-sided, mutually advantageous cooperation, for the benefit of our friendly peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace and international understanding.

Ceausescu Greets Ethiopia's Mengistu on Holiday

AU1509174989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 12 Sep 89 p 4

[Message from Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu to Mengistu Haile Mariam, president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, on that country's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia and president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia,

On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the revolution, I take pleasure in conveying to you warm greetings and best wishes for good health and personal happiness, for new and significant successes in ensuring the progress of your homeland, and for progress, prosperity, and peace to the friendly Ethiopian people.

I believe that, continuing to work together in the spirit of the understandings agreed upon during the talks held in Addis Ababa and Bucharest, the relations of friendship, solidarity, and close cooperation between the Romanian Communist Party and the Workers' Party of Ethiopia and between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia will continue to develop for the benefit of the Romanian and Ethiopian peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace, understanding, and cooperation throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Ceausescu Speaks in Iasi on Working Visit

AU1509090489 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 Sep 89 pp 1,3

[Speech by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at rally on opening of academic year, in Iasi on 15 September]

[Text] Dear Comrades: To begin with, I would like to extend to you, participants in this big mass rally, and to all inhabitants of Iasi County and Municipality warm revolutionary greetings and best wishes, on behalf of the party Central Committee, the State Council, the Government, and myself personally. [cheers, chants]

We are paying a working visit to Iasi. We wanted to ascertain the development pace of industry, agriculture, education, science, and other sectors and to see the changes that have occurred in the life of the Iasi people and the Moldavians—as one of our folk songs goes. Indeed, one can say that the life of the Iasi people, the Moldavians, and our whole country has continuously developed along the road of socialism, thus proving the strength and superiority of socialism and of a people who are free and masters of their destiny. [cheers, chants]

By coincidence, this year also marked the 130th anniversary of Moldavia's union with Wallachia and the creation of the united Romanian national state. One can say that this facilitated the creation of the free and independent Romanian nation. [cheers, chants]

From here, from Iasi and Moldavia, many ardent patriots made a decisive contribution to the union and, also by coincidence, the first leader of the united Romanian national state was a Moldavian. [cheers, chants]

Along these lines, Transylvania—which, as is well known, was oppressed by the Austrian-Hungarian empire for centuries on end—also joined the Romanian national state some 60 years later; thus, we truly achieved the united Romanian national state. [cheers, chants]

These events I have mentioned here are more recent ones in the history of our people, who for more than 2,000 years have resolutely struggled on these lands—and many of our forefathers even gave their lives—for the formation of our nation and people, so that our people can have a dignified, free, and independent life. We can now say that only socialism has ensured the full independence, well-being, and happiness of our whole nation. [cheers, chants]

At the same time, we came to Iasi to participate in the opening of the new academic year. It is very important that, this year, we are opening the academic year of our fatherland from Iasi, the center of Moldavia, the starting point of the decisive struggle for the union and independence. This must become a symbol of the struggle for an education of a high scientific-technological level, which can raise our fatherland to the highest peaks of progress, civilization, science, and culture. [cheers, chants]

In Iasi and Pascani, we visited several industrial units. Generally speaking, we can say that we gained good impressions about the working people's concerns and activity to fulfill plan provisions for this year. Generally speaking, Iasi has registered a high pace of development in the years of socialism, particularly after the Ninth Party Congress. In the period since the Ninth Party Congress, fixed assets increased by more than eightfold and industrial production by more than twelvefold. Agriculture, education, science, and culture have also developed strongly; the living standard has increased and we have built quite a lot, with Iasi becoming almost a new city, thus ensuring ever better working and living conditions for all citizens. [cheers, chants]

What we have achieved in Iasi, we achieved in all our homeland's counties. The neighboring counties, the Moldavian counties, have also registered a strong development. I want to emphasize this because Moldavia was among the country's lagging zones. Socialism has ensured this huge progress, which raised the whole country to a new life, including Iasi and Moldavia. That is why, I want to stress and we must continue to emphasize this point, that only under conditions of socialism, under the leadership of our glorious Communist Party, were we able to achieve this strong development of our fatherland. [cheers, chants]

During this year, Iasi County and Iasi Municipality have achieved a relatively good industrial development rate of more than 6 percent, however, I must tell you frankly—and I believe you are aware of this fact—that with all this, not all enterprises have fulfilled the plan provisions. There are still serious lags to be noted and we should do all we can to eliminate these lags in the coming months. The manager of the Heavy Equipment Combine took the floor here. Indeed, this is an enterprise which has modern technological equipment and 11,000 working people, however the production output is not up to the level of the existing technical equipment and of the potential of this wonderful collective of workers, technicians, and engineers. In this enterprise, just like in all the other enterprises and combines of the county, we should do all we can to appropriately fulfill the socioeconomic development provisions and achieve an increasingly higher quality and technological level, thus ensure the competitive character of the Romanian products both in terms of our general development and in products earmarked for exports.

As a matter of fact, the programs for the next year and for the future envisage a more marked increase of industry in Iasi—I am referring to both Iasi Municipality and Iasi County. We should do all we can and see to it that an industrial production of at least 80-90,000 lei per inhabitant be achieved by 1995. It is possibly to achieve it and we must do it. As early as 1991, Iasi should produce 1.1 million tonnes of steel and should produce one million tonnes of pipes. I am referring only to these two sectors which are very important for Iasi's economy and for the whole country. All other sectors of activity should also develop accordingly. During this visit and during last night's meeting with the bureau of the county party committee we discussed the issues of Iasi's future development. We should create new industrial-working centers in this county. We plan to create five to six additional industrial centers in the next five-year plan, so that together with the existing ones aside from Iasi we should have eight to nine additional industrial-working centers in this county. Gradually, we will develop all agro-industrial councils and the communes of the county and ensure the development of small-scale industry and of other activities. In this way, we will see to it that Iasi county can be counted among the counties and municipalities with the best results in all areas. [applause]

We visited the agricultural research station of Podu Iloaie and the production cooperative farm of Movileni. We have noticed good results as far as production is concerned and the chairman of the production cooperative farm of Movileni showed us what yields will be obtained this year. Indeed, on overall county levels, just like throughout the country, particularly good agricultural yields, of wheat, barley, and sunflower have been obtained, and we have good prospects for yields of 20,000 kg corn [per hectare] and for big potato, soybean, and other crop yields. However, the objectives of the new agrarian revolution are greater in agriculture, too, and the potential of our socialist agriculture are greater too. It is true that compared to what was achieved in the past, only 10 year ago, currently we have crops that place Romania, and Iasi, too, among the countries with the biggest crops in the world. That is the result only of the big socialist ownership and we owe these results to socialism and to our party policy of assisting agriculture with mechanization, science, and everything necessary to obtain increasingly greater yields. That is why we can say that also in agriculture, we owe our great achievements only to socialist ownership in agriculture, to socialism, and to the correct policy of our Communist Party which is fulfilling its historical mission of leading our whole nation toward the highest pinnacles of progress and civilization. [applause]

For the results obtained by the working people in industry and agriculture and the whole peasantry, I would like to convey to the workers, technicians, and engineers, cooperative workers, and to all peasantry heartfelt congratulations and I would like to wish them success in obtaining increasingly better crops and industrial results. [applause]

In the field of education, we have visited the Faculty of Chemistry and, within this framework, an exhibition about the activity of the higher education, of high school, and general school education in Iasi County and in Iasi Municipality. We have good impressions from this visit. As a matter of fact, if I am not mistaken, Iasi has become the second university center—as far as size is concerned—which demonstrates the potential of this important center of higher education and of education in general and its concern with shaping cadres and experts and with improving the general level of our nation's education and culture. [applause]

Likewise, I visited an industrial high school and we actually met with the students and pupils of Iasi who welcomed us with joy and with pledges to obtain increasingly better results in the new academic year. [applause]

The development of the general and higher education in our country as well as in Iasi is the direct result of the strong development of production forces, of industry, agriculture and of all sectors of activity. Only on this basis, of developing our socioeconomic potential, have we been able to achieve this strong development of education in our homeland, which today shapes cadres for all fields of activity. This gives us the confidence that the objectives of our general development will be optimally achieved in the future, because we have a workers class with a high level of training and engineers and experts with a high technical and scientific training, and this is a decisive condition to ensure the building of socialism and communism. [cheers, chants]

At the same time, Iasi also has achieved a strong development of scientific research and culture, as a result of the general development of all sectors of activity. Science throughout the country, therefore in Iasi, too, has made and continues to make a decisive contribution to the general progress of our homeland and of everything that we have achieved and everything we propose to achieve in the future, because in this era of great technical-scientific revolution we cannot fulfill the objectives of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensure our advance toward communism without basing all our activity on the latest and most important discoveries of science, technology, and culture in all areas. However, we must not do this by just thinking of what others are doing; yes, by cooperating with others, but making our own new discoveries and our own contribution and the contribution of the Romanian science to new discoveries and to raising science in general to increasingly higher levels. [applause]

At the opening of the new academic year, I would like to convey warmest congratulations to all teaching staff in Iasi and throughout the country and to all students and pupils and I wish for the new academic year to mark a new moment in the process of revolutionizing and greatly developing the Romanian education. [cheers, chants].

On this occasion, too, I would like to call on our students to study and study again and to make steady efforts to master the highest scientific-technical knowledge in all fields, including the highest knowledge of social sciences about the development of the world, life, and the laws of nature and the development of human society. In order to achieve the targets of building communism in our fatherland, we need experts, engineers, and technicians in all spheres as well as scholars with the highest knowledge. Only thus, will we be able to carry on both the revolutionary and patriotic traditions and the torch of science and continuous progress, which represent the foundation of the victory of socialism throughout the world. [cheers, chants]

With the start of the new school year, we are generally introducing 12-year education. All our young generation, all our fatherland's children will attend the 12-year educational system. This will ensure a high level of knowledge, on the basis of the latest achievements of science, technology, and human knowledge in general. We must firmly base our education on the scientific achievements in all spheres as well as on the dialectical-historical materialism and on the scientific-socialist concept about the world and life, so as to fashion a young generation and a people with a high level of knowledge and with high revolutionary and patriotic features, which can ensure the ceaseless progress of the revolutionary process, the victory of communism, and Romania's independence. [cheers, chants]

Since practically all children and all young people are going to school, I call on the pupils and the whole young generation to study and study again. There is no higher patriotic and revolutionary obligation today than to study and study again—this applies to all our children and young generation. Dear friends, you should master the highest possible knowledge available. You should make maximum use of the conditions created by the party, state, and the people for you to learn and master the most wonderful achievements in all spheres. Do everything you can to grow up as good and advanced citizens of Socialist Romania, so as to always ensure, for ever and ever again, so to say, the existence of our fatherland, people, and language, among the independent countries in the world, with other peoples! Let us further develop the Romanian language and culture and cherish our national history and glorious past! [cheers, chants]

Dear Comrades, I would like to point out once more that everything we have achieved in Iasi and throughout the country is the result of the correctness of the policy of our Communist Party, which is applying objective truths and laws and the principles of scientific socialism to realities and conditions prevailing in our country. In this respect, it is the great merit of the Ninth Party Congress to have put an end to dogmatism and kowtowing, restored the feeling of dignity and independence to our people, and paved the road for building socialism in our fatherland with the people and for the people. [cheers, chants]

We have strongly developed new forms of economic management on the basis of the principles of self-administration and self-management. We introduced a new economic mechanism, which facilitates the development of all sectors on the basis of the principles of proper administration and maxim efficiency and profitability in all spheres. We created a strong system of the revolutionary workers democracy in all spheres of activity. On this basis, we ensured the participation of all our people in running all spheres of activity and increased the role of the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all social categories. We should improve the activity of the people's councils, the working people's councils, and the workers revolutionary councils and increase the role of general meetings in solving the complex problems in each enterprise. This will facilitate the removal of difficulties that may emerge in a given place and will ensure the firm progress of the entire activity of Iasi industry and throughout the country. [cheers, chants]

On the basis of the recent Central Committee decision, the entire country, party, and nation are discussing the directives and theses for the 14th Party Congress. In practical terms, there are only two months to go till the start of the party congress. This congress will draw a balance sheet of our great achievements and proclaim, from the high rostrum of the congress, our great victories along the road of socialism in our country and the superiority of socialism, and will also set forth new development prospects in the Ninth 5- Year Plan and up to the year 2000-2010, which will ensure the fulfillment of the strategic goal of building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania and creating conditions for the start of the implementation of goals of the communist society, when our people will reach a much higher living, cultural, and scientific standard than we have today. [cheers, chants]

Setting out from an education system and a material and scientific-technical base that are at a much higher level than the one that prevailed at the time of the passage to the construction of socialism and even at the time of the Ninth Party Congress, and looking upon our country's achievements just after the Ninth Party Congress, we can really be proud of our past and justifiably confident in our future, where we can foresee a high socioeconomic development level for our fatherland and a great civilization level for our people, who will turn into a people with a high scientific and cultural level, a people armed with the most advanced science and culture. [cheers, chants]

Indeed, we can look upon the future with justified trust and we can picture the development prospects of Iasi, of the municipality, and of Moldavia, in general. What will our Moldavia look like in the years 2000, 2010? It will be—like the whole country—a closely united Moldavia, forever and ever, within Romania, determined to defend the national being and independence of the people and ensure an ever better and free life for the whole nation. [cheers, chants]

Therefore, we should take resolute steps to implement all development targets in industry, agriculture, science, education, and culture and to fulfill all our socioeconomic development programs as well as other programs for the modernization of our fatherland's towns and villages and for raising the whole country's overall civilization level. We must pledge ourselves to firmly strengthen the activity of our party, which is the guarantor of the achievement of all these targets. We should enhance the party's links with all the people and strengthen unity within the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, the unity of our whole nation. Life and reality have shown that only united—in close unity under the leadership of the Communists—and only by continuously raising our professional level, approximating the general development level, and creating a united working people with a high scientific level, will we become a nation with great achievements, a nation of science and culture, of well-being and happiness, and of independence. [cheers, chants]

As you all know, the "Union Hora" [hymn of Moldavia's union with Wallachia in 1859] was first sung here. Let us ensure that unity, the "Union Hora," will always ensure the unity and mobilization of the whole nation into a single force, under the leadership of Communists, thus guaranteeing the victory of communism in our fatherland. [cheers, chants]

You see Comrades, Iasi and the Moldavians have many advanced things to boast about. They have made a great contribution to the overall development of our people, nation, and language. It must play an ever more important part in building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring the victory of communism in Romania. [cheers, chants]

Dear Comrades, we are achieving our development targets under particular international conditions. Everybody knows the foreign policy promoted by the party and Socialist Romania as well as the contribution made by our fatherland and people to disarmament, peace, and the resolution of many complicated international problems. While giving priority to the overall socioeconomic development of our fatherland and to the victory of socialism and communism in Romania, we are firmly determined to further strengthen relations with the socialist and developing countries and with the developed capitalist countries, in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence. We will always base our international cooperation with all states on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for independence and sovereignty, noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states, mutual respect, and observance of each nation's right to free and independent development, without any outside interference. [cheers, chants]

We will take resolute steps to contribute to attaining the goals of general disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament. We firmly speak out for halting the production of nuclear weapons, putting an end to nuclear tests, and adopting a program on total elimination of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000. We strongly advocate a radical cut in conventional weapons and a reduction in military expenditures, with the long-term view of achieving a world without arms and wars. [cheers, chants]

We deem it necessary that the Vienna talks on a reduction in conventional armaments in Europe should speedily conclude with appropriate agreements on radically cutting down arms in all spheres. As a matter of fact, everybody knows that Romania is not only talking about disarmament, but has actually taken unilateral steps along these lines and has reduced its troops, arms, and military expenditures. We are firmly determined to make an active contribution to the fulfillment of these goals.

We advocate a broad cooperation in Europe and the achievement of the goals of security, disarmament, and cooperation in Europe. We advocate a united Europe of free and independent nations, in which each people can develop in accordance with its wishes, without any outside interference. At the same time, I would like to refer from here, from this big mass rally in Iasi, to the need to unflinchingly implement the principles of the Helsinki documents on cooperation and security in Europe and to put an end to any kind of interference in the affairs of other states. Certain states believe that they can use the documents adopted in Vienna to intensify their interference in various countries and destabilize the situation in some socialist countries—I am particularly referring to the irresponsible actions in recent days against our ally, friend, and social class brothers the GDR. We express full solidarity with the GDR people and assure them of our total solidarity in the struggle to build socialism in the first state of workers and peasants on German soil, thus implementing the targets set by Marx and Engels themselves. We want that an end should be put to interference in the affairs of any other country. Those circles, which believe that they can create feuds in Europe, should realize that this runs counter to the Helsinki spirit and the UN Charter and does not serve the interests of security and cooperation in Europe. This is certainly not the right way; the right way is to develop active cooperation. Each of these countries should resolve its serious problems, such as unemployment, illiteracy, housing shortage, poverty, and many others, which today represent the basic problems of human rights and of the future of peace and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world. [cheers, chants]

We advocate and will take firm steps to develop cooperation with all Balkan countries, so as to create a region without nuclear and chemical weapons and without foreign military bases; this cooperation should facilitate the progress and independent development of all Balkan countries, as an integral part of security and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world.

In view of the serious problems of the world economic situation and underdevelopment, we firmly speak out for speedily solving the problems of underdevelopment and convening a UN-sponsored international conference, with the participation of both the developing and developed countries, in order to find acceptable solutions conducive to the elimination of underdevelopment, to the resolution of the foreign debt problem of the developing countries, and to the establishment of a new international economic and political order. We believe that the developing countries, through united action, are capable of determining a radical change in this respect and the establishment of new international relations, which can facilitate the faster progress of the lagging countries, the harmonious development of the world economy, and the progress of all nations in the world. [cheers, chants]

As is well known, Romania has advanced many proposals on current economic problems, particularly the foreign debt of the developing countries and the new world economic order. In this respect, we believe that a very important step would be to establish a maximum interest rate of 4-5 percent for future credits and to completely renounce or just have symbolic interest rates for existing credits, after a good part of them are completely canceled. Another important step would be for the world banks to renounce the practice of making credits conditional on their use for the so-called privatization, that is for the development of the private economy, and on attaching political conditions to the granting of loans. On the contrary, we believe that it would be more natural for both the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund—banks which have a large number of developing countries as members—as well as other banks, to primarily grant credits for the purpose of strengthening public property, in which the people are true masters of the national riches. These banks should not serve, as they do today, the interests of supranational monopolies, but rather the interest of nations and their legitimate aspirations for well-being and independence. [cheers, chants]

There are many problems to be solved in the world. They require the participation of all states, regardless of size or social system, in their resolution. It is necessary to increase the role of small and medium-sized countries and of developing and non-aligned countries, which are vitally interested in a new policy of cooperation, peace, and socioeconomic progress for all nations. We advocate a more active role for the United Nations and other international bodies in solving world problems.

We believe that the progressive and anti-imperialist forces and the peoples everywhere, from all countries, are vitally interested in a new policy and a new economic order. They want a policy of peace and cooperation. By taking united action, the nations will have the necessary power to impose such a new policy, disarmament, and peace. We will further act to strengthen our unity and solidarity with all nations in the world, with the conviction that reason and peace will eventually triumph and that we will build a better and more just world on our planet. [cheers, chants]

Dear Comrades, once again I would like to emphasize that we have gained good impressions about the work and activity of the working people in Iasi Municipality and County and about the activity in the sphere of education and science. We express the conviction that on the eve of the 14th Party Congress, the party organizations, the managerial councils, and the working people in all spheres will take resolute sieps to score ever better results in all fields. As you all know, there is a competition among all our fatherland's counties. I would be happy to know that Iasi is competing for a front-ranking place. I would have nothing against it; moreover, I would welcome it if you were to finish first. However, in order to achieve this you must work and work again. [cheers, chants]

In Iasi, we have a strong party organization. I have known the Iasi party organization since 1939, when I visited Iasi; I was here again in 1945, in the first months after the victory of the revolution for social and national liberation. I know that the Iasi Communists, workers, and many intellectuals have played an important role in the party's revolutionary struggle and in the patriotic struggle and later, after 23 August, in the work to fulfill the targets of the socialist revolution and construction. Therefore, I am fully convinced that the Iasi party organization, youth organization, trade unions, and the working people's councils from all spheres will work in full unity to achieve the great targets set for them. With this conviction, I wish you ever greater success in all fields, increasingly better results in all spheres, and much health and happiness. [cheers, chants]

Further Commentary on Nonaligned Movement Summit

Results, Lessons Viewed

AU1309122889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9-10 Sep 89 p 1

[Mirko Klarin commentary: "Why Did We Need the Summit"]

[Text] Heralding the Ninth Summit of Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries, a recently oft-quoted diplomat used as the title of his commentary in the weekly DANAS the provocative and rhetorical question: "Why Do We Need the Summit!" He recalled the doubts and dilemmas which had accompanied the year-long preparations: "do we not have more pressing tasks," "how much is this costing," "what will we have from all of this," "will this not distance us even more from Europe"....

The summit in the meantime has come and gone, so let us try to analyze "on the hop"—only several hours after the new chairman of the movement, Janez Drnovsek, announced its end with a rap of the chairman's gavel—why we really needed all this, and how much, if anything, we gained from the week-long international political super-spectacle in Belgrade's Sava Center.

The first result that is certainly important for us was the week-long "cease-fire," that is to say the 7-day truce on our internal propaganda, ideological, nationalist, and other fronts. We lived for 1 week without name-calling, harangues, accusations, and threats and without "the people entering the scene," the destruction of the government, and the announcement of "final clashes," and with only several insignificant "border incidents' which were caused by "lone shooters." And it was not bad, we were breathing more easily....

The second, potentially more important and more long-term result was expressed in the indisputable improvement of our "ratings," "image," and "creditability," that is to say, the improvement in our recently very damaged reputation, not only in the Nonaligned Movement but also in the "rest of the world." This is shown by the numerous compliments which Yugoslavia received for organizing and, particularly, for chairing the summit, from the participants and guests, as well as from most of the world press. This is also shown by the numerous messages sent to Yugoslavia and the movement before and during the summit in which the main world, more or less, "aligned factors"—Gorbachev, Bush, Mitterrand, Kohl, and Pope John Paul II—expressed their total confidence in Yugoslavia's constructive role as the chair country, welcomed the realistic proposals and positions of the movement, and confirmed their willingness to establish fruitful relations with the nonaligned nations. After a long time, Yugoslavia has returned to the very center of the world political scene through the front door. Of course one cannot live off the positive "rating" and participation in "great politics." Or to be more precise, one cannot live off them alone. However, Yugoslavia's increased international standing and influence is indisputably one of the essential prerequisites for the successful resolution of at least some of our current problems. These are problems—primarily economic—for whose resolution we need support, understanding, and even specific aid from the world. In this sense, our position in the developed world is today undoubtedly more favorable than it was only 7 days ago, before the start of the summit. However, the case not only in the developed world but also within the movement—that is among the developing countries where there is also great, still unused potential for the development of varied useful cooperation. The Nonaligned Movement does sometimes act like "the trade union of the world's poor," but not all nonaligned countries are underdeveloped and poor. For example, Venezuela and the other OPEC countries with which Yugoslavia, as the chair country of the movement, could establish much closer relations than previously. Something of this was hinted at on the fringe of the summit (in the talks between Markovic and Peres, and so on) and even achieved.

The fear that the summit will "distance us even further from Europe" and irrevocably dig us into "the third world," into some imaginary continent between Asia and Africa, has been shown to be unjustified and erroneous. The outcome even seems to be paradoxical: The summit has brought us closer to Europe, or to be more precise, it has consolidated our position in it, since we belong to it in the geographical, historical, and cultural sense, as well as in many other ways. Yugoslavia has undoubtedly brought the movement closer to Europe. After all this is why the movement, or at least a convincing majority of its members, chose Belgrade as the host of the summit and Yugoslavia as the future chair country, because it is essential that it opens up dialogue with that great expanding economic power, the European Community.

At the same time, however, Yugoslavia has brought Europe closer to nonalignment and its values, particularly those European countries which, under the conditions of a relaxation of tensions and a weakening of bloc restraints, recognize in nonalignment a platform which would allow them to become an independent force in world politics. This was demonstrated by the numerous European guests at the summit (which would certainly have not been so impressive had the summit been held somewhere else, and not only because of the higher "travel costs") and their unconcealed satisfaction and even pleasant surprise at what they saw and heard in Belgrade's Sava center. This is also shown by the messages from the French President Mitterrand (in his capacity as the present chairman of the Community), the German chancellor Kohl, and finally the president of the EC Commission, Jacques Delors (whose message characteristically arrived on the last day of the summit when its positive outcome was more than certain). The indirect confirmation of this, finally, was the fact that the fears of some of the summit's participants, expressed somewhat loudly in the corridors of the Sava center, that Yugoslavia would lead the movement in a "European direction" were unjustified. It would be the case only if realism, pragmatism, and precision—which characterized the Belgrade summit—are interpreted, as Federal Secretary Loncar pointed out at a news conference, as "traits of European culture and European style."

This, in short, could be the first, still "hot" response to the question in the title. We will probably see how much all this is worth after Monday when the last guests depart and we are left alone by ourselves and with our realities. We will then see whether we have learned some of the important lessons of the ninth summit. These are particularly lessons about democracy and respect for differences, the endurance and necessity of consensus, the obsolescence of ideological prejudices and dogmatism, and the inevitability of a realistic and balanced approach.

Something of everything that we demonstrated while leading the ninth summit and which we hope we will confirm as chair of the nonaligned over the next 3 years, could also be welcome for "domestic use."

Summit Deemed 'Doubtless Success'

AU1409141289 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Sep 89 p 3

[Borivoj Erdeljan commentary: "The Scope of Belgrade"]

[Text] We need realistic programs and a conviction that it is necessary to establish a dialogue with everybody. This ambition, which the host of the summit, as well as a large number of the movement's members had on the eve of the summit, has become today a decision by which the nonaligned countries are acquiring a new identity of their own.

This knowledge is sufficient to evaluate the ninth summit as a doubtless success. This idea had clearly prevailed for 4 full days in the Sava Center, so that one could conclude at the end that the movement has already been "armed" for a more active and direct participation in the main currents of the political and economic development of the world.

A turn toward pragmatism, without harming the principles that the founders of the movement have left as their legacy, is the most valuable achievement. Certainly, all the vestiges of the dogmas of the past have not been erased, but the intensive polarization into radical and moderate wings which used up most of the energy in order to keep balance is now definitely far away.

Today, there is, as Dr Drnovsek has put it in a statement given to POLITIKA, "a creative variety of ideas and suggestions, and a realistic approach to many problems," and not a serious internal confrontation which used to overwhelm and even paralyze the movement.

Arbitrary demands and a persistent disbelief and suspicion concerning the reason to join the process of relieving tension have been expressed only in some individual cases.

The categorical and firm attitude manifested in Belgrade pertained to a sphere which merits such a resolute approach. The delays of the economic detente or its near absence was a well chosen target, because, as much as they belong to a material category, poverty and lag in development, can also represent a dangerous threat to social and political order.

This interdependence and the basic idea that development can best build the entire world security system, could have been heard in many speeches.

The declaration and about 40 additional documents represent the gist of such a transformation of the nonalignment by which the movement, now consisting of 102 members, will catch up on the progress into the 21st century in a world which has been mercilessly rushing into the new technological era and—regarding its more developed part—into stiller political waters and new agreements in which eternal enemies have become fewer.

The host's success lies in the fact that it had laid the foundations of the declaration in such a way that one could not seriously ask whether assessments of all goods and evils which the international community has been confronting can be put onto a mere 10 pages.

The insistence of individuals that they be given the floor or devoted a passage in the documents mostly manifested weak points of the proposers themselves who have chosen this way to defend themselves from their own powerlessness and inability to offer more than oft-repeated words. This suits one's vanity, but achieves nothing. In some cases, the conference had to yield before such attacks and deeply rooted habits.

In a word, the nonaligned countries have renounced their Old Testament sermons and discovered that even the "holy books" can be written in a more comprehensible way. Many of them think that this change is not sufficient, because the Mayotte Island and North Korea could only be given separate papers and the text concerning Lebanon could only mention Israeli attack and occupation and had to ignore other armies and interference.

However, there was some turbulence of the opposite kind, even individual accusations that what was involved was not a political modernization and methodological adjustment, but "treason."

A feeling for realism reached an acceptable level, so the summit was concluded with a sense of moderateness, both regarding the partners outside the movement (the desire for a dialogue and cooperation with the developed countries) and within its own ranks. The red-hot mutual polemics were almost limited to the Iraqi-Iranian quarrel and Afghan-Pakistani skirmish alone, and ideas which went beyond the borders of the real world did not go further than Colonel al-Qadhdhafi's idea on moving the Jews into Alsace.

The ninth summit has clearly established that the Nonaligned Movement has its place in the world, but has done so with less verbalism and greater efficiency, and without repeating its conviction about inevitability.

The presence of a few "strong personalities" who failed to come to Belgrade (Fidel Castro, Al-Asad, Saddam Husayn, Rafsanjani, Hassan II) would certainly have increased polemics during the conference but would have obliged them to commit themselves a bit more. On the other hand, the fact that Algeria's Chadli Bendjedid only presented his speech in writing was a surprise.

"Success can come only with everybody's support and a joint effort." Such a message by the new chairman is the most reasonable first step with which the Yugoslav term of office has opened.

FEC's Markovic to Visit U.S. in Mid-October

LD1809173389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1650 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 18 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Federal Premier Ante Markovic will go on a working visit to the United States in mid-October this year.

This was officially announced in Belgrade this evening.

Yugoslav Also Suspected of Palme Murder

AU1809141189 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 18 Sep 89 p 179

[Unattributed report: "Yugoslav as Palme Murderer?"]

[Text] Apart from the Palme assassin who was sentenced in Stockholm, a second man is in custody in Yugoslavia as the alleged murderer of Palme. Immediately after the murder, Palme's wife Lisbet was sure that it had been committed by Croats. However, the Swede Christer Pettersson was sentenced to life imprisonment. Last Tuesday [12 September] the appellate proceedings started at the Stockholm Higher Regional Court. However, as early as October 1987, a Yugoslav military tribunal sentenced former career officer Nurif Rizvanovic, who had been a member of the Slovene state security service since 1982, to 7 years imprisonment for espionage; according to the transcript of the trial, a fellow defendant accused him of having been involved in the Palme murder. Now Rizvanovic, who is serving his sentence, told the Slovene magazine MLADINA that he had come under suspicion because on the day of the assassination, 28 February 1986, he had been on a mission abroad—however, in order to establish contacts with the FRG Federal Intelligence Service on behalf of the Yugoslav State Security Service. Rizvanovic appealed against the sentence that pronounced him a double agent. The Belgrade Supreme Military Court confirmed the sentence. The opinion of the court also mentions Rizvanovic's participation in the Palme murder. A confession from the defendant served as proof—however, after torture and drugs, Rizvanovic claims.

FRG Bundestag Delegation To Visit, Hold Talks

LD1609052989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0052 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 16 (TANJUG)—The strengthening of intensive and diversified parliamentarian cooperation between the Federal Republic of Germany and Yugoslavia will be the main topic of talks during the visit of a delegation of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Bundestag (Federal Assembly) to Yugoslavia from September 18 to 21.

The West German parliamentarians, headed by Chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee Hans Stercken, will hold talks with members of a delegation of Foreign Policy Committee of the Yugoslav Assembly, headed by Committee Chairman Aleksandar Simovic.

The Bundestag delegation will also be received by President of the Federal Assembly Slobodan Gligorijevic, Vice-President of the State Presidency Borisav Jovic, member of the State Presidency Vasil Tupurkovski, Prime Minister Ante Markovic and Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar.

The West German parliamentarians will also visit Sarajevo.

Assembly, Bundestag Deputies Talk

LD1809203289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1955 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 18 (TANJUG)—The non-aligned summit in Belgrade and new processes in East-West relations, especially viewed from the standpoint of positive changes both in the Non-Aligned Movement and in superpower and bloc relations, were the main topics of talks between delegations of the Foreign Policy Committees of the Yugoslav Federal Assembly and the West German Bundestag, which started in Belgrade today.

Speaking about East-West relations, both sides pointed out major changes in the past year—the weakening of bloc monolithism, the greater readiness of some countries for dialogue across the bloc borders and the strengthening of mutual confidence.

The West German delegation believes that the new atmosphere could yield the first practical results, in the form of an agreement between the two blocs. This could happen already next summer, at the Vienna talks on the reduction of conventional arms in Europe. The Bundestag delegation especially stressed the positive influence of a group of non-aligned and neutral European countries in bringing East-West stands closer together.

FEC Markovic Meets With Italian Prime Minister

Markovic Interviewed by Italian Paper

LD1609155189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1353 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] Rome, Sept 16 (TANJUG)—"We are already struggling against inflation. In doing so, we want to use a therapy which eliminates the causes and not only the consequences. This is the essence of the government programme of global reform," Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic said in an interview to the Italian daily IL MESSAGGERO.

The interview was given on the eve of Markovic's meeting with Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti in the Yugoslav town of Umas in Istria.

Markovic said that the measures undertaken by the government are aimed at establishing a new social system. He also recalled that the government has already liberalized prices, 87 percent of the total exports, wages and the citizens' access to foreign currency.

The wages, which have been falling for the past ten years, are now increasing in real terms by 9.2 percent a month, he said.

It has been years since Yugoslavia recorded such positive results as in the past year - production grew by 2.5 percent and the market is much better supplied, said Markovic.

In the January-August period Yugoslav exports, mostly generated to Western countries, grew at an average rate of 14.2 percent a month. This has never happened in Yugoslavia's history, stressed Markovic, adding that all this was the result of liberalization.

The country's foreign currency reserves, which now stand at five billion dollars, rose by 2.5 billion dollars in the past six months alone. In June last year, Yugoslavia was not able to regularly meet its debt obligations, he recalled.

Yugoslavia's overall debt has fallen to below 18 billion dollars, said Markovic, with other countries owing to Yugoslavia four billion dollars.

In reply to a question on the further fate of self-management, the Yugoslav premier said that the negation of the market system had prevented self-management from expressing itself fully.

Markovic recalled that Yugoslavia was moving towards free competition between social, private and joint ownerships, and that self-management had to show it could utilize these conditions and prove itself capable of drawing the country out of its crisis.

He said Yugoslavia's objective was to boost the overall efficiency of the economy, in parallel with the further development of democracy.

In response to a question whether the government or the party (League of Communists of Yugoslavia—LCY) was more important in Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav prime minister said that the government had a constitutionally established role and was accountable to the federal parliament—essentially to the people. The Party (LCY) represents one segment of the people and its accountable to that part, neither is the government accountable to the party nor the party to the government, he said

Asked what Italy could do assist neighbouring Yugoslavia, Markovic recalled that Italy was a member of the European Community (EC) and one of the world's seven most industrially developed countries, and could through these forums help in the provision of real support to the Yugoslav reform. He also said that on the bilateral plane Italy could first of all help by implementing the memorandum on cooperation and development, in other words, by investing in various projects and realizing the transfer of technology.

Speaking about Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, whom he will meet tomorrow, Markovic said Andreotti was a wise man with exceptional qualities, who is always able in crisis situations in Italy, when governments should be formed, to integrate diverse interests.

Markovic Meets Italian Slovenes

LD1609201489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1744 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] Umag, 16 Sep (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, tonight on the eve of tomorrow's meeting with Italian Prime Minister Andreotti, in Umag's Koral Hotel received a delegation of the Slovene minority in Italy.

During the Talks, which were also attended by Federal Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar and Zaljko Jeglic, member of the Slovene Socialist Alliance of Working People Presidium, the representatives of the Slovene minority acquainted Markovic with the expectations of the Slovenes in Italy, who do not yet enjoy all the rights envisaged by international treaties and the Italian constitution.

Andreotti Arrives

LD1709092589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0830 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Text] Umag, 17 Sep (TANJUG)—The Italian prime minister, Giulio Andreotti, arrived in our country today on a 1-day, friendly working visit. The guest from Italy was welcomed and cordially greeted by the Federal Executive Council President, Ante Markovic. The formal welcome ceremony was also attended by Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar, the president of the Slovene Executive Council, Dusan Sinigoj, the president of the Piran Municipal Assembly, Tatjana Kosovel, and other officials. After the cordial welcome Premiers Markovic and Andreotti were taken to Umag's Koral Hotel where they will have talks.

'Adriatic Initiative' Signed

LD1709182389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1240 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Text] Umag, 17 Sep (TANJUG)—After today's meeting between Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic and Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, and their aides, a statement on reviving wide-ranging and dynamic mutual cooperation, under the title, "Adriatic Initiative," was announced in the Hotel Koral in Umag. We present the verbatim text of the statement, which, as it was said, is open to full cooperation with all the littoral states and with all other countries which gravitate towards the Adriatic basin.

The FEC of the SFRY Assembly and the government of the Italian Republic, motivated by the intention to consolidate and affirm the existing ties of good-neighborliness, friendship, trust, and cooperation that have long earned the reputation of being exemplary in Europe and the Mediterranean, and in accordance with the spirit of Osimo [Osimo Treaty], the contents of mutual bilateral agreements, and the principles of the CSCE, believing that the current processes of wide-ranging cooperation and integration in Europe should be supported and adjusted to internal processes of structural adaptations, aware of the need to preserve traditional, historical, geographical and economic ties through various aspects of inter-regional cooperation and the active role of the minorities in both countries, announce the following statement:

The two parties have decided to revive the multi-faceted and dynamic framework of cooperation, named the "Adriatic Initiative", which is to be open from its inception to the full participation of all littoral countries as well as cooperation with the other countries on the north and south of the Adriatic which gravitate toward the Adriatic basin. In this framework the sectors and instruments of cooperation for achieving concrete results have been given priority.

Motivated by mutual interests and the responsibility for the Adriatic Sea, the two parties have agreed to develop a joint plan for the ecological preservation of the Adriatic.

The activities in research, studying, planning and controlling should be intensified by putting to use the decade-long experience of the Mediterranean Action Plan, which will have a useful role in scientific support and coordination in the future too.

A comprehensive mathematical model for analyzing the data relating to both Adriatic coasts, applicable to the whole ecological system, should be devised and a modern system of forecasting and informing on the tide phenomena implemented.

The two sides have agreed on the need to have an action plan for cleaning the Adriatic and a strategy for removing the causes of pollution formulated by operative plans in accordance with specific local circumstances.

Appropriate negotiating instruments will be used for the development of research and operational activities. Among them special significance is attached to the forthcoming session of the Mixed Commission for the Protection of the Adriatic in autumn this year, which will convene its session in line with needs.

To this effect, the willingness of the EEC Commission, to contribute to the plan to overcome the difficult situation in the Adriatic and remove its causes, was received with pleasure.

Apart from initiatives in the sphere of the environment, cooperation should be developed more rapidly in other sectors too, particularly in the area of transport, tourism and infrastructure.

The transport system will receive a new, vital stimulus, bearing in mind the growing interdependence between an increased flow of goods and people and an increase in investments and activities by enterprises, with the aim of removing existing seasonal limitations in sea transport and in general air transport ("at the third level") [as received] between the two Adriatic coasts.

Primary importance should be given to road links, including the planned Adriatic highway, and to improving the rail network, particularly in light of the possibility of increasing transit trade transport between West and East Europe and, in particular, between the EEC regions and the Danube-Balkan basin. In this context it is desirable to continue the development of program for a system of integrated and combined transport in the region of the central and southern Adriatic.

Efforts will be made to encourage the essential advancement of all joint activities in the tourism sector with a corresponding development of infrastructure, and the advancement of the overall complex of economic activities which arise from this.

Particular importance should be attributed to the evaluation of natural resources in the sectors of agriculture and food products, fishing and aquaculture, and energy and mining, by establishing concrete initiatives and suitable forms of financing, processing and commercialization. In the context of realizing all these initiatives through cooperation, the two governments undertake to encourage businessmen to make use of all the available legal and operational instruments which contribute, within the normative framework of the two countries, to the implementation of specific projects such as: the more rational utilization of all available potentials, the forming of small and medium-sized enterprises, new technological and credit trends and direct investments, as well as the creation of mixed enterprises, and the formation of cadres in the entrepreneurial and service sector.

In addition to this, efforts will be made to increase the efficiency of the work of the mixed commissions which is provided for in the agreement on economic, industrial, and technical cooperation of 1964 and the trade agreement of 1967.

Stating that the memorandum on cooperation of January 1988 and its specific application had created an important instrument in the growing cooperation between the two countries, the two governments undertake to accelerate all the phases of its implementation. For this reason they undertake immediately to begin a more profound assessment of its economic effects and the possibilities for providing an impetus on the financial, trade, and technological levels, which is also useful for the further development of this form of cooperation after 31 December 1990.

In the general framework of cooperation in the Adriatic basin, the two governments stress the common interest that this cooperation should develop throughout the whole territories of the two countries and particularly between their southern and central parts, and the most favorable forms of cooperation for this will be looked into. These new forms could, at least initially, take the positive experiences from the context of the Alpe-Jadran working community, it says at the end of the declaration.

The Umag declaration was signed on behalf of the Federal Executive Council of the SFRY Assembly by Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar, and on behalf of the goverment of the Italian Republic by Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs Gianni de Michelis.

News Conference Held

LD1709201789 Belrade TANJUG in English 1730 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Text] Umag, Sept 17 (TANJUG)—We assess the meeting with Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic and Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar as very significant, especially as regards the "Adriatic Initiative", a document which we have signed here, Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti told a joint press conference after today's talks in Umag.

Andreotti described the document as very important for the further development of Italian-Yugoslav cooperation, and said other interested countries would also be acquainted with its content.

He recalled that the talks in Umag had taken place after a successful meeting between Italian President Francesco Cossiga and Yugoslav Preisdent Janez Drnovsek. He added he had proposed that the two countries' prime ministers meet reguarly once a year. A joint committee in charge of implementing the "Adriatic Initiative" would also meet reguarly.

Commenting on Italian-Yugoslav cooperation, the Italian prime minister urged that ethnic groupings also be taken into consideration—as they could contribute to relations between Yugoslavia and Italy and be an important element of the all-round relations.

Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic said at the joint press conference that today's talks had been very substantial, constructive and encouraging for the further course of the two countries' relations.

The existing cooperation between Italy and Yugoslavia is more than positive in the political, inter-state and economic spheres, Markovic stressed, adding that economic cooperation was not limited to trade alone but included various other forms of cooperation and joint investments.

On the process of reforms in Yugoslavia, Markovic pointed out that they were entering a decisive phase, which among other things implied a vigorous opening up towards Europe and the world as a whole.

Markovic said that Yugoslavia's progressive efforts could benefit significantly boosted by financial support which would be used to cover deficits and accelerate the new development process.

All bilateral possibilities in this regard and the activities which, with Italy's help and cooperation, can be conducted at the global level were also discussed in today's talks, he said.

On the question of Italian investment in Yugoslavia, Markovic said that talks are underway on numerous possibilities in this field and that several arrangements have already been concluded. A process is underway which, on the basis of the law on joint investment, provides for new quality in cooperation, said Markovic.

Markovic Hosts Luncheon

LD1709203289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1912 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Text] Umag, Sept 17 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic today thanked his Italian colleague Giulio Andreotti for the latter's great contribution to the high level of Yugoslav-Italian cooperation. Markovic also thanked Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis, who has, in the short time he has held the office, made a significant contribution to this cooperation.

Proposing a toast to successful cooperation between the two countries at a formal luncheon given in honour of Prime Minister Andreotti, Markovic expressed his desire for the materialization of all that had been discussed during today's meeting in Umag, not only to the benefit of the neighbours, but also for the development of cooperation and peace in Europe and the world, as their common contribution to raising the level of civilization and culture of mankind.

In answer to the toast, the Italian prime minister described Italian-Yugoslav political relations as very good and said that it would appear that little need be done for them to remain good and to be promoted further. During the meeting today, fresh prospects and instruments for consolidating the good Yugoslav-Italian relations were envisaged, so that it can be said with pleasure that much has been done over the past years for friendship between the two countries.

Andreotti said that friendship between neighbours was sometimes much more difficult to achieve than between distant countries. He recalled the beginning of the establishment of Yugoslav-Italian cooperation, when the two countries signed their first agreement, which regulated mutual relations in fisheries.

The italian prime minister offered congratulations for the success of the Belgrade conference of non-aligned countries and Yugoslavia's activity in over-all international relations in the initiation of major political changes through the activity of the non-aligned.

To his host and his associates, Andreotti said that they could feel pride for the achievements of 1948, when many had branded Yugoslavia as a heretic. Today, it is being proved that the path chosen and traversed by Yugoslavia can be taken as the basis for the new trends and processes unfolding in the world.

In conclusion, Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti wished success to both Markovic personally and to his government, as well as unity and prosperity to Yugoslavia "in which we all have a great interest".

Andreotti Interviewed

LD1809185589 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1714 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, September 18 (TANJUG)—Italy has insisted in the European Community and elsewhere on the need to lend absolute support to Yugoslavia now that it is at a stage of political, economic and legal restructuring, Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti has stated in an interview to Belgrade television.

Prime Minister Andreotti said that Italy would continue to extend all support to Yugoslavia and that it was not alone in that (?since), as he said, "It is the wish of many to help Yugoslavia in its development, because peace and stability in Yugoslavia are of great importance for peace and stability in Europe, and possibly even beyond."

Reffering to possibilities for the expansion of the united Europe, the Italian prime minister assessed that it was logical to expect that it would not be limited to 12 countries. He recalled that it was decided in Helsinki back in 1975 that, for the sake of security and success in Europe, the process (?should) encompass [word indistinct] other than the European countries and, in that context, expressed hope that Albania and even the United States and Canada would join it one day.

It is the wish of Yugoslav and Italian politicians to have closer contacts which would, apart from a general political significance, have an operative one too. The frequent operative contacts between it and Yugoslavia are used both for negotiations and for reviewing the outcome of the previous such contact and preparing the next one, Italian Prime Minister Andreotti said.

Andreotti Departs

LD1709203489 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1803 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Text] Portoroz, Sept 17 (TANJUG)—Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti left Yugoslavia this evening after a very successful one-day working and friendly visit.

At Portoroz Airport, the ranking guest was seen off by Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic.

Italian Paper Interviews Serbian Writer Cosic

AU1409154389 Zagreb VJESNIK
in Serbo-Croatian 11 Sep p 6

[Unattributed report on interview with Serbian writer Dobrica Cosic reprinted from Italian newspaper IL TEMPO: "The Taboo of Titoism Is Paralyzing Yugoslavia"—date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Question] Is there an "army issue" in Yugoslavia?

[Cosic] In our country, the problem presents itself in a different way than in other countries, and this should be defined. The present generation of officers is an ideologized army. This is still Tito's army. However, Titoism will be destroyed in a bourgeois society, and then the soldiers will be forced to adapt to reality.

[Question] However, it seems that Croatia is still linked, at least formally, with Tito more than the other republics?

[Cosic] Yes, much more. Croatia is the pillar of Titoism because Marshal Tito is the greatest personality in the history of Croatia. He gave them Istria and threw out you Italians. He took Zadar.

[Question] He also took Trieste?

[Cosic] Tito really used to say that Trieste is ours. Really, on Yugoslav maps, this is the only Yugoslav border town that is given a Serbo-Croatian name.

[Question] The absence of Italians, who are now reduced to a small community, is a historic tragedy for us, but does it rid you of yet another national problem?

[Cosic] The misfortune is that the Italians left, because of the culture and civilization. Italy constitutes a factor of a great civilization that we lost in this way. That was a great shame. [passage omitted]

Interview Deemed 'Impudent'

AU1409171389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 89 p 6

[Seada Vranic commentary: "A Drop of Poison in a Glass of Hatred"]

[Text] It has become hotter in Croatia, even before the announced fall rise in temperature. The strikes apart, the credit for this goes to Dobrica Cosic whose interview to the Italian IL TEMPO has additionally electrified the media and caused disgust and sharp protests throughout the republic, but primarily in Istria and Dalmatia which were justifiably affected most by the words of this writer and member of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences. Let us recall, in the already familiar habit of mercilessly settling accounts with Tito and "Titoism," Cosic this time went further than even the most daring forecasters could have expected from a member of the opposition, as Cosic likes to present himself.

Speaking about Tito and Titoism which is "paralyzing Yugoslavia," Cosic found it necessary to explain to the IL TEMPO journalist why the marshal is the greatest personality in the history of Croatia: "He gave them Istria. He threw out you Italians. He took Zadar," said the academician and sycophantically added that it was a misfortune that the Italians had left. "A misfortune for culture and civilization."

One could look upon and interpret this lament by Cosic as another attempt to pour oil onto the fire of the inflamed passions in this country and add a drop of poison to the glass of hatred, or as the IL TEMPO journalist put it, to attack Tito's statue with a pickaxe. However, the prominent academician is not a drunken poker player who uncontrollably gives vent to his bitterness at the card table.

Cosic's statement would only be sad proof of the moral atrophy of a former partisan and Communist who is settling accounts with his supreme commander, if it were not for the fact that it is the integrity of the state that is being played with, because no matter how much some people wanted to diminish the impression that was left by the academician's serious words (being amazed in this respect at the vehemence of the reactions of the people of Istria, Zadar, and elsewhere in Croatia), it is irrefutable that Cosic unambiguously and impudently called into question the internationally recognized border of Yugoslavia.

It is, after all, difficult to believe that the academician himself would accept the type of excuse and defense that individuals are using to defend him, claiming that he did not mean things the way they were published in IL TEMPO, because Cosic is not an anonymous scribbler and neither is IL TEMPO a part of the "gutter press" which does not have a serious readership in Italy nor a corresponding influence on public opinion.

However, this does not mean that Cosic's words are serious and persuasive. They are not serious to the extent that it is unfitting for any citizen to play with territorial integrity. It is particularly unfitting for a great writer and member of a prominent academy to neglect the facts and forget historical proof. Unfortunately, this is in fact what has happened to Cosic. He "slipped up" and neglected to consider some "petty" details.

These are details which include, among other things, the fact that no one, not even Tito, gave Istria to the Croats and that Tito did not "take" Zadar, which (apart from the short period between 1920 and 1943) has not been Italian. It is difficult to believe that Cosic does not know that the Istrian people themselves—after a decision by their national liberation council in September 1943—joined Croatia and Yugoslavia, which was a decision that was first of all endorsed by the Zadar Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Croatia and then confirmed by AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia]. And another "detail"—the Italians recognized the reunification of Istria in the peace agreement of February 1947. Moreover, Zadar was not "taken away" from anyone because it has always been a Croatian town. Regarding the "expulsion" of the Italians, it is strange that Cosic forgets that we are talking about fascists whose 23-year rule of this town represented the most sinister period of fascist terror and violence against a population which also included those Italians who did not want to espouse the fascist cause.

It is difficult to believe that these facts that are familiar to every secondary school pupil could have passed Dobrica Cosic by, or are even completely unknown to him. To judge by everything, the academician had a specific aim for his statement. It can be decided whether he acted in the context of a "formulated scenario" which wants to destabilize Croatia, only if all pieces of the mosaic are put together, a mosaic which many people in Croatia, including the official forums of the republic, see as a deliberate plan to undermine the Socialist Republic of Croatia. A well-known part of this scenario is the statement by Antonije Isakovic, writer and academician, who, with regard to the creation of the federation, insists on Baranja being separated from the Socialist Republic of Croatia, thus advocating that the republican borders in the SFRY be rearranged. Finally, the "Knin affair," which was provoked primarily by Serbian nationalists, completes the list of proofs for the claim that this does not involve solely individual "excursions" or statements, but a devised plan which has its foundation in the notorious and "nonexistent" memorandum [of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Science].

Whatever is going on, dangerous dealings are afoot which destabilize both Croatia and Yugoslavia. As such, they must receive a clear response not only from the community at which they are aimed, but also from the community in which they arise. However, even the highest state organs of the SFRY, which are the first to be called upon to react to all threats—even verbal ones—to the integrity of Yugoslavia and its borders, should not have remained deaf and dumb. Unfortunately, it seems that everyone has forgotten what they should do, so that they all share the responsibility for the ideas and actions that are gaining momentum and whose main intention is to undermine and divide Yugoslavia. And no one should be allowed to do that.

Drnovsek Receives EFTA Chief During Visit

LD1509173189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1511 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Sep (TANJUG)—Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, received today in the Palace of the Federation Georg Reich, secretary general of the European Free Trade Association [EFTA], who is staying in Yugoslavia as a guest of the Federal Executive Council. The cordial talks covered the further advancement of cooperation between Yugoslavia and EFTA. Secretary General Reich informed President Drnovsek of the talks that are in progress on the initiative to establish permanent, and possibly institutional, forms of cooperation between Yugoslavia and EFTA.

Placing these talks in the broader context of integrational trends in Europe, Reich pointed to the need for constant and fuller information for EFTA members on economic trends in Yugoslavia and the implementation of economic reform in our country. He also pointed to the importance of bilateral contacts between Yugoslavia and all EFTA countries, stressing that this would contribute to a better understanding of trends in Yugoslavia, which would make it easier to find suitable forms of cooperation between Yugoslavia and EFTA.

Secretary General Reich stressed that Yugoslavia's efforts to overcome economic difficulties are receiving broad support in the EFTA countries. Both sides expressed confidence that further contacts between experts and governments would lead to concrete solutions on this issue.

Also taking part in the talks was Federal Secretary for Foreign Economic Relations Franc Horvat.

Ethiopia's Mengistu Greeted on National Day

AU1509202989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 89 p 8

[Text] On the occasion of the National Day of Socialist Ethiopia, Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent a message of congratulations to President Mengistu Haile Mariam.

Drnovsek Receives New Ambassador to Morocco

LD1409215489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1420 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—Today Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, received Dimitrije Babic, extraordinary and plenipotentiary SFRY ambassador to the Kingdom of Morocco, prior to his departure.

Government Announces Anti-Inflation Plan

LD1809182889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1731 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, September 18 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's government of Ante Markovic today made officially known its integral program of anti-inflation measures which, without price-freezing, should act in the direction of putting out all inflation hot spots.

The complete "package" called "The Implementation of Economic Policy in 1989 and Further Anti-Inflationary Measures" is a logical stage in carrying out the government's economic program which, already this year, should make it possible to stop and, next year, to curb inflation more appreciably, Dr Bozidar Marendic, the federal secretary for development, told his press conference for both domestic and foreign journalists here today.

The (?experimental) directions in stopping inflation will be in the field of monetary policy which, it was emphasised, should be more restrictive than so far.

The key-matter is to be finding in the national economy, banks and socio-political communities all deficiencies and the so-called doubtful claims, which are the causes of inflation, and securing—on market-oriented grounds—real sources for recovering or liquidating loss-making enterprises whose recovery is impossible.

In the field of foreign economic relations, the Yugoslav Government will keep stimulating exports with the aim of so providing for between 40 and 50 per cent of Yugoslavia's gross national product a year.

The exchange of the national currency, the dinar, will be formed in line with supply and demand on the foreign-exchange market and to go on is the liberalisation of the lasting and not intervening imports of consumer goods for the purpose of breaking the domestic producers' monopoly and keeping prices down.

Import taxes will be reduced so as to have imports be more competitive on the home market so goods will be imported from regions which offer the most favourable conditions.

In reply to press questions, Marendic remarked that Yugoslavia has no problems with International Monetary Fund (IMF) which supports the Yugoslav Government's program of [word indistinct] and evaluated that the Ante Markovic-led cabinet's moves coincide with the IMF views on a way to settle Yugoslavia's economic crisis. He Voiced his conviction that, by this year's end, negotiations between Yugoslavia and the IMF would end in success.

The Yugoslav Government has also drawn up several draft laws and documents for putting into practice the envisaged measures of which the federal parliament would make its opinion known on September 29, the date on which Federal Premier Ante Markovic is to submit his report on his government's new measures.

Further on Slovene LC Debates Over Constitution

LD1809182689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1045 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 18 Sep (TANJUG)—The review of ideopolitical viewpoints on the proposed amendments to the constitution of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia, made by the LCY Central Committee team of experts, constitutes unacceptable and inconceivable pressure against the republic's sovereign rights. At the same time, it is also an attempt to denounce the Slovene League of Communists [LC] Central Committee. This was stressed at today's session of the Slovene LC Central Committee.

By rejecting this review, the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium also stressed that the essence of the amendments were deliberately misunderstood in some environments. Within the context of the current general crisis in Yugoslavia this fact can only exacerbate it, it was said.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium is not being denied the right to consider all politically crucial issues, including this one. However, it is the time and circumstances in which we are conducting these debates, the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium emphasized, that are disputed. Concern was also expressed that the sharp differences in views on the same issues might be perceived as pressure on the sovereign will—in this case—of the Assmebly of the SR of Slovenia. The current situation calls primarily for a calm reasonable debate rather than political disqualifications and denials of the sovereign right of the SR of Slovenia and its highest organ, the assembly, to adopt the changes to the constitution in the form in which they were endorsed in the general pubic debate, it was said.

In his opening address on the issue that only today made its way onto the agenda of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium session, Ciril Ribicic pointed out that the LCY Central Committee's review seeks to anathematize the national principle and propagate the unitarist principle.

The changes to the constitution of the SR of Slovenia, Ribicic reiterated, are not favored by some because they enforce the valid constitutional status of the republic and prevent unitarist interpretations of the existing constitutional solutions, namely, precisely those which they would like to remove since, allegedly, they are an alien confederalist body at odds with their authentic, uniquely correct rendition of federalism.

Had some people invested the same precision—by which today they are assessing the concordance of the proposed amendments to the Slovene constitution with the federal constitution—in protecting the constitutional rights of the republics and provinces, many of the proposed amendments would be superfluous, Ciril Ribicic said. He also rhetorically asked whether it was not the same people who are today attacking the proposed amendments to the Slovene constitution, who started several years ago to propagate the theory that the right to secede had been used up. They advocated the use of the Serbo-Croat language in the military court in Ljubljana, when the Slovenes were on trial. Did they not constantly contemplated the meaningless comparisons of the situation in Kosovo with that in Slovenia, or even threaten Slovenia with tanks in the polemics within the LCY; and did they not turn a deaf ear to our appeals and demands to drop their senseless accusations of counterrevolution?

Ciril Ribicic then stated that obviously there is no understanding of arguments, appeals for tolerance, and reasonable debate in this political row. The extent to which some people do not want this is illustrated these days by "attempts to denounce Slovenia with insinuations such as the one about its aspiration to break up Yugoslvaia, its being separatist and threatening the integrity of the country. The media attacks and political agression are even reaching the point where the expert services of the state and political organs in the federation are including in various draft documents harsh remarks about threats to the state's stability, about its being endangered, about threats to the constitutional system, about disabling the federation's vital functions, prejudicing solutions to the new constitution. This is what the LCY Central Committee's team of experts is doing.

Noting that the Serbian and Slovene nations and both republics have more interests in common than they have conflicting interests, Ciril RIbicic maintained that the situation which has arisen, recently and increasingly dominated by frequent misunderstandings, is neither the desire nor the fault of the SR of Slovenia, a fact "convincingly illustrated by the current offensive throughout Serbia against the proposed amendments to the Slovene constitution."

Serbia and its popular leadership, said Ribicic, will have to find sufficient internal strength not to resolve their troubles and difficulties at the expense of the equal rights of other republics and nations or nationalities. He interpreted the support given to the proposed Slovene constitutional amendments by the Slovene LC as advocating the strengthening and protection of the constitutional rights of the republic.

The best guarantee for the strength of the SFRY lies here, Ciril Ribicic continued. In fact, we want to prevent the theories about using up the right to self-determination, the theories about the precedence of one of the languages of the nations of Yugoslavia over others, attempts to impose an economic and political will on Slovenia, threats of the use of military force against the will of Slovenia and its highest organs.

At the same time, Ribicic asked which nation or republic would give up any one of these rights. Which republic would agree to a different interpretation of its status in the SFRY constitution? I am deeply convinced that this cannot be the case for anyone in Yugoslavia, least of all for the Serbian nation and the SR of Serbia, Ciril Ribicic stated.

Ciril Ribicic continued his introductory speech by pointing to the generally accepted fact in Slovenia that the formulated constitutional changes are nothing other than an expression of a readiness to acknowledge and defend the same rights for every other republic. Instead of barriers and threats, we in Slovenia expect from the other parts of Yugoslavia, and in particular from the federal organs, respect for and strengthening of constitutional rights and the equality of the republic and the Slovene nation. For those of us in the Slovene LC who initiated and signed the Slovene basic charter of 1989, it would be a great defeat, tragic for Slovenia and for the federal concept of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], if it were to be shown that threats, political pressures, and attempts to impose the will of others were being realized in the federation instead of the expectations of the basic charter. This would be ominous not only for Slovenia and for the Slovene nation; it would really threaten the survival of Yugoslavia and the equality of nations and nationalities, republics, and provinces in it, concluded Ciril Ribicic.

Proposing that the material of the LCY Central Committee expert team be categorically rejected, Joze Smole stressed that any discussion on the positions contained within it would mean a compromise of the Slovene LC Central Committee.

Pointing to the seriousness of the disagreements which have arisen, Ivan Dolnicar stressed "that is is a question of a great battle in which it looks as though Slovenia will remain alone in Yugoslavia."

As we have already decided, we should preserve in what we want, continued Dolnicar. Retreating and accepting a compromise is the worst solution.

Tina Tomlje expressed the conviction that the LCY Central Committee presidium intends to discuss this problem in the same way as the SFRY Presidency did recently.

Stating that amendments on self-determination and secession "do not also mean the beginning of secession", Slavko Sorsak warned the other members of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium "that it must be recognized that in Slovenia secessionist tendencies do exist in Slovenia. Such intentions are only reinforced by pressures and crises." Sorsak was also of the opinion that if the amendments were altered the alternative forces would condemn the leadership of the SR of Slovenia. [passage indistinct]

Supports Constitutional Changes

AU1809210989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia today discussed a non-agenda item, the report which an expert body of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia prepared in the form of a review of the ideopolitical aspects of the amendments to the Slovene constitution. Its present stance, emphasizing that the Slovene League of Communists categorically defends the constitutional provisions in its republic, will be presented at tomorrow's session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Relja Atanasijevic has the details:

Concisely stated in the introductory speech by Ciril Ribicic, the debate, and the concluding speech by Milan Kucan, the stand of the Presidium of the republican Central Committee says: There can be no deviation from the constitutional amendments because as they stand, they are the sovereign right of the Slovene people and their will.

Ciril Ribicic considered it necessary to stress that there would be no contentious amendments, which have [words indistinct] the public in the country, if the viewpoints had not appeared that the right to secession had been finalized, that the federal chamber had been given the right to majority rule, that appeals had not been heard to withdraw accusations about a counterrevolution in Slovenia, that expert bodies of the state and political organs of the federation do not include in various draft documents serious words about the threat to stability in the state and its integrity and constitutional order, and so on and so forth.

Ciril Ribicic alluded to Serbia's offensive against the amendments to the Slovene constitution and said: Serbia and its popular leadership must find enough internal force so that its own ills and difficulties are not resolved to the detriment of the rights of other republics and peoples, and even the rights of nationalities. In this connection, he added that Slovenia is not demanding only what it itself is prepared to recognize and defend when it comes to other republics.

Instead of setting limits and making threats, said Ribicic, Slovenia expects the other parts of Yugoslavia and especially the federal organs, which are also Slovenia's, to respect and strengthen the constitutional rights and equality of its republic and people. The reverse of this would be fateful not only for Slovenia and the Slovene people, but would even put the survival of Yugoslavia at risk.

The Presidium of the republican Central Committee unanimously supported Ribicic's proposal that the review of the ideopolitical aspects of the amendments to the Slovene constitution by the body belonging to the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia be rejected as biased, technically unsound, and politically unfounded. Joze Smole and Miran Potrc proposed that the material from today's session in Ljubljana be presented to the whole of the Yugoslav public.

Ivan Dolnicar said that the League of Communists of Slovenia is entering a great battle and expressed the belief that it would remain alone but that it must nevertheless persist without fuss until the end. Slavko Sorsak mentioned that the amendments are not the (?result) of pressure from the Slovene alternative groups and added, if they were to withdraw, pluralist forces would disqualify the republican constitutional commission and the League of Communists of Slovenia. Milos Prosenc dealt with the various interpretations in the country and the document by the Serbian Presidency on the second phase of constitutional changes, advocating that Serbian stands on a different concept of a federal Yugoslavia be elucidated.

In the concluding speech, Milan Kucan mentioned that he does not deny the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia the right to discuss all these issues, but not in way that could be interpreted as putting pressure on the will of Slovenia. He stressed that the adoption of the republican constitution is the sovereign right of Slovenia which demands only what it recognizes for others. The federation is not eternal and changes are a matter of agreement between sovereign peoples. All these issues are topical prior to the congress of League of Communists and will be part of the debate on the new constitution. We cannot accept any attempt to impose obligations on the League of Communists of Slovenia against the will of the Slovene people, concluded Kucan.

This tale will continue tomorrow at the session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Minic Speaks to Serbian Party Presidium

LD1309212989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0812 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 13 Sep (TANJUG)—The main characteristic of the ideopolitical involvement of the Serbian League of Communists [LC] in the period just passed has been the struggle for changes which will ensure a democratic way out of the crisis. In question is a period of stormy and decisive, even revolutionary changes, a period in which the Serbian LC has affirmed itself as an organization of action and initiative, in which it has been at the center of events and has constantly initiated issues of vital political importance for Serbia and Yugoslavia, stressed Milomir Minic, secretary of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, the introductory speaker in today's discussion by the Serbian LC Central Committee on the draft documents for the 11th congress of the Communists of this republic.

Stressing that at the eighth session of the Serbian LC Central Committee a policy was adopted of developed responsibility for the consistent resolution of problems which the party membership, the working class and the people placed on the public political scene, Minic stressed that, together with them, the Serbian LC entered into a conflict with Albanian nationalism and separatism in Kosovo, and with autonomist policy in Vojvodina, which resulted in changes to the republican constitution and the establishing of unity in the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

Today only conservative and nationalist forces who are against Yugoslavia are sharpening their teeth on Serbia, despite the fact that it is clear to the broadest Yugoslav public that a united and equal Serbia, turned toward reform and democratic changes, is in the interests of Yugoslavia, its unity, stability and development, said Minic.

What is the point of these mindless attacks on Serbia, its people and its leadership? These can only spread intolerance, distrust and conflicts between people and nations. We have also seen some cases where these attacks have been used to ensure that an individual's political career is maintained, or to win votes in elections, although we are convinced that this is no longer allowed to happen. It is depressing that certain individuals think that attacking Serbia is sufficient to ensure one's candidacy, cadre and media promotion, and that to this end there are even attempts to abuse the platform of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee, said Milomir Minic, secretary of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, in his introductory speech at today's session of the Serbian LC Central Committee.

Minic then turned to economic reform, stressing that a unified economic system and economic policy for the country and the establishment of a unified Yugoslav market are the basic systemic conditions for a way out of the economic crisis. We have been calling, said Minic, for equal conditions for business activity throughout the country, which means the abolition of artificial monopolies, privileges, and for the affirmation of healthy competition and clear economic accounts. However bureaucratic, dogmatic and other forms of resistance to the changes in the economic system, behind which lie privileges and specific material interests, are blocking the implementation of economic reform. In conditions of galloping inflation this vitally diminishes the efforts of producers and the positive results achieved in Serbia in unburdening the economy. This is why the great dissatisfaction of the workers, who are demanding an end to procrastination and calculation regarding the issue of inflation, is justified, said Minic.

Noting the essence of the economic reform advocated by the Communists of Serbia, Minic stressed in particular the creation of economic solutions in the system whereby each individual and each collective would have the opportunity to achieve the best possible results and the greatest possible profit on the market, on the basis of their own initiatives, enterprise, efficiency and resources. He added that calls for reform do not go together with the simultaneous closing off of channels for the free movement of capital or with rendering the federation incapable of conducting a comprehensive fiscal and monetary policy or a policy on relations with other countries.

We can only resolve the crisis by a common Yugoslav involvement in which everyone, from the individual and the enterprise to the federation, must take up their share of duties. This is why we are calling for a solution which will enable the federation to conduct a unified economic and development policy, concluded Minic, noting that this is a question of using the normal economic functions of a modern state to encourage a market orientation in the economy and contemporary technological development.

Stressing that economic reform should offer the working class a real material basis, and reform of the political system real political power, Minic warned that "neither the economy, the political system nor the party can be improved in bits or in isolation" and that "the political system established by the 1974 Constitution has shown itself to be nonfunctional, expensive, complicated and insensitive" to the interests and needs of people and for resolving the key problems of society, giving absolute importance in this regard to national factors, in particular to general, class, common and Yugoslav factors.

Putting forward the concept of a reform of the political system, Minic stressed that its basic component, which should be expressed in the new constitution, is the individual as citizen, as producer, as member of a nation, and that all institutions of the political system should be built on the expansion of, respect for and protection of his rights and freedoms. In this context, he said, the Serbian LC advocates the following components which, among others, go to form a modern law-governed state: an independent judiciary; the rule of law and the constitution; free and direct elections with several candidates and the affirmation of the assembly as an organ of power.

As far as the federation is concerned, Minic stressed it is a commitment to a "democratic federation, as the socialist, federal, united state of equal Yugoslav nations and nationalities" in whose development Serbia would take part while remaining sensitive to the common, Yugoslav interest, as he put it, but not allowing, in this regard, any form of hegemonism from any quarter, and not remaining silent about a single one of its own real economic, political, national or cultural interests.

Minic concluded this vision of the federation and relations within it by saying that we are for consensus as a form of decision-making at federal level, but we are also for timely and effective decision-making in the federation in the sphere of those functions which belong to it. We are against hegemonism and domination by the most numerous nation or by any other nation in Yugoslavia, but we are also against hegemonism and domination by the most numerous nation or nationality in each republic or province.

Making the assessment that comprehensive social reform could not be embarked upon by the "old" LC which was "opportunist in its political stance and hesitant in its action," Minic said that the Serbian LC is in favor of consistent democracy, the debureaucratization and demonopolizing of ideological and political power, but not in favor of political pluralism, which brings into question Yugoslavia as a democratic federation, as well as the relations based on national equality and the working man, and the citizen as the basis of the political system and its essential subject. The Serbian LC, in his opinion, is committed to the abolition of its own monopoly, the renewal of trade unions and the socialist alliance, and the opening up of scope for social movements, associations and citizen's initiatives.

As far as the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] is concerned, Minic noted that the Communists of Serbia advocate solutions which define the LCY as a united organization, while in its internal relations it places the emphasis on unity and democratization by improving democratic centralism and effectiveness.

Concluding his speech, Minic also spoke about current elections in Serbian LC organizations, stressing that the imposition of previously concocted cadre decisions is impermissible as is a purely formal attitude toward initiatives by the membership, and he explained in detail the proposed decision on numbers and composition in the central committee at its next session.

[passage omitted] Concluding the discussion about the draft documents for the 11th congress, Dr Bogdan Trifunovic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, noted that people outside the SR of Serbia, "despite destructive propaganda in some parts of the country against this republic and its leadership," will realize increasingly that Serbia is advocating social reforms and democratic changes, and that the main orientations of the Serbian Communists are the following: a modern economy; democratization of the political system; the transformation of the LC; the resolution of the problem of Kosovo, and a stronger federation. He added that, nevertheless, the most important thing is what working people and citizens will do themselves, and when it comes to communists, they will, Trifunovic said, show that the Serbian LC is capable of finding new democratic and socialist solutions to new issues. Trifunovic expressed the conviction of the Serbian LC that it is necessary to step up preparations for the 14th LCY Congress, while overcoming the existing great differences within its leadership.

After delegates voted in favor of the draft documents, Trifunovic stated that draft documents are drawn up and that they will be sent to bodies and organizations in the Serbian LC for public debate, and these bodies will send their remarks to the appropriate bodies by 10 November.

In accordance with the proposed decision which was adopted today, a new Central Committee will have 157 members, and the Statutory Commission of the Serbian LC 29 members, and the Supervisory Commission 15 members. By the 11th Serbian LC Congress, candidates will be registered for 15 members of the LCY Central Committee, as well as for 2 members of the Statutory and Supervisory Commission of the LCY from the Serbian LC. Furthermore, according to the proposed decision, the 11th Serbian LC congress will elect 60 delegates for the 14th LCY Congress not counting candidates from municipal conferences. The list of proposed candidates will be established by 15 November this year.

Today the Serbian LC Central Committee adopted the proposal that Milomir Minic be elected to the post of the chairman of the Commission for the Cadre Policy of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, instead of Zoran Sokolovic, who is busy at his new post.

Macedonian Premier's Activities Examined

LD1509175389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1 430 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Skopje, Sept 15 (TANJUG)—Communists at Macedonia's Ministry of the Interior today called on the republican parliament to examine the responsibility of republican Premier Gligorije Gogovski for the serious socio-economic situation in the republic.

The premier also came under fire for disinforming the republican assembly and the public about the "Vevcani case" and being personally responsible for the use of force (electric prods by a special police unit) in a 1987 dispute over water rights with the villagers of Vevcani.

The case had deeply disturbed the Yugoslav public and the village became known throughout the country as its villagers shown a remarkable measure of determination in seeking justice from the federal parliament.

The communists at the Ministry of the Interior say that the premier had altered a police report on the events in the village of Vevcani and thus disinformed the Macedonian parliament.

They also blame Gogovski for tolerating illegal practices in the republican internal affairs service, failing to take a strong action over an ecological catastrophe at Dojran Lake and for being too slow in reacting to a "new blackout" in the Yugoslav press during last year's meeting of children from [words indistinct] Macedonia.

Gogovski is also blamed for the failure of the Macedonian government to react to the conduct of the Yugoslav delegation at the international conferences on human rights in Paris and Geneva in May and June where they failed to raise the question of the Macedonian national minority in neighbouring countries.